

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## POE AS A LITERARY CRITIC

BY JOHN ESTEN COOKE

Edited with an introduction and notes

By N. BRYLLION FAGIN

This essay by the Virginia novelist John Esten Cooke, written a century ago, has just been published for the first time. It was discovered in a private collection and has now been edited with an introduction and notes by N. Bryllion Fagin of the Johns Hopkins University. Written immediately after Poe's death, the essay contains a vivid sketch of Poe as a lecturer and reflects contemporary opinion on Poe's life and work. This is a rare item of interest to all Poe collectors, libraries, and teachers of American literature. A facsimile of a page of the MS. is printed as a frontispiece. Price \$1.00.

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## WORDSWORTH IN POLITICS: THE WESTMORLAND ELECTION OF 1818

In 1818 Henry Brougham decided to stand for one of the county seats in Westmorland. The ensuing contest, the first in Westmorland since 1774, found on Brougham's side only the Quakers, a few landowners like the Earl of Thanet and some of the Crackenthorpes, and 'the voters of the yeoman class whom the influence of Lowther castle had failed to subjugate.'<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless Wordsworth and his sister involved themselves in the campaign as if the Lowther power were seriously threatened, and indeed as if 'the majority of the populace of Westmorland [were] ready for revolution. . . .'<sup>2</sup> Wordsworth told Lonsdale that the strength of Brougham's party was in 'misguided good intention, party spirit, dissent, disaffection, envy, pride, and all the self-conceited pretensions which absurd ignorance can be incited to by headstrong reformers and revolutionists.'<sup>3</sup> And Dorothy was appalled by the low persons among Brougham's supporters: 'there was not one except Towers the Apothecary who looked in the least like a gentleman.' Brougham was dragged through Kendal by a 'set of ragamuffins' (but with her cousin William Crackenthorpe by his side), amidst a 'set of dirty lads and vagrant-like men.' She could not

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Aspinall, *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* (Manchester, 1927), p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth; the Middle Years*, ed., Ernest de Selincourt (Oxford, 1937), II, 815. D. W. to Mrs. Clarkson. The excitement of the letter may be due to her writing to Mrs. Clarkson, whose husband had just come out for Brougham; the Wordsworths seem to have regarded the Clarksons as useful for publicizing W. W.'s books among the Quakers; compare *Middle Years*, II, 622, 655.

<sup>3</sup> *Middle Years*, II, 807.

walk the streets of Kendal without 'meeting a dirty lad or lass with a blue' ribbon, servants or working girls from the local comb and hat factories, 'numbers of disgusting females shouting Brougham and independence.'<sup>4</sup> Considering in the first place Brougham's political position and the issues that he raised, and considering in the secondly place the nature of the local political machine that he was attacking, it is a little difficult to account for the excitement of Dorothy or the moral fervor of Wordsworth as he attempted in his Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland 'to give the *rationale* of the question' to the upper classes.<sup>5</sup> But a re-examination of the events surrounding the Two Addresses may, perhaps, suggest what Wordsworth was up to.<sup>6</sup>

## I

In 1818, when he contested the Lowther control of Westmorland, Brougham had already thrown over the Radicals,<sup>7</sup> and neither he nor the local Whig leaders wanted to deny that the great territorial possessions of the Lowthers permitted them to nominate one member for Westmorland.<sup>8</sup> So far as one can tell, Brougham argued

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 807-11, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *Middle Years*, II, 821.

<sup>6</sup> After the election D. W. noted that they had lost no old friends and had gained some new ones. Viscount Lowther spent three days with them, and Colonel Lowther and his wife called. And it is worth noting that W. W. became a justice of the peace in 1819. See *Ibid.*, pp. 823, 835 and note.

In 1820 W. W. used Lonsdale to help his brother on to the Mastership of Trinity College. See a letter printed in Charles Wordsworth, *Annals of My Early Life* (London, 1891), p. 8, note.

My dear Brother,—Lord Lonsdale informs me that Lord Liverpool assured him yesterday that the Mastership of Trinity would not be disposed of without consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury

Ever your affectionate Brother,

W. W.

The letter is dated 28 June 1820; it was not printed by de Selincourt. The Archbishop was Charles Manners-Sutton, for whose son C. W. had been private tutor.

<sup>7</sup> Keith G. Feiling, *The Second Tory Party* (London, 1938), p. 292; Aspinall, *Brougham*, p. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Aspinall, *Brougham*, p. 87. At the meeting which opened Brougham's campaign, the speakers were very careful on this point; reported in the *London Times*, 17 February, 1818, from the *Carlisle Patriot*.

only one issue: would the electors of Westmorland continue the Lowthers in the 'unconstitutional' control that had turned Westmorland into a pocket borough? In 1816, it is true, he had attacked the government; but then he had been thinking, like Wordsworth, of economy, and dreaming, like Wordsworth, of a union of classes;<sup>9</sup> now, though he criticized the Lowthers' unquestioning support of Government, his chief concern seems to have been in defending himself against the charge of Jacobinism.<sup>10</sup> Of course behind Brougham was a decade of threats to order, of riots and strikes, of rick-burning and machine-breaking; but these troubles apparently did not reach Westmorland.<sup>11</sup> So far as I can see, nothing in Brougham's record or his campaign will justify either Wordsworth's excitement or the arguments he raised.<sup>12</sup>

And I cannot see that the Lowther record justified Wordsworth's campaign. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the political power in Cumberland and Westmorland was divided among a number of families, of whom the Lowthers were by no means the greatest. In 1734, however, the Lowthers of Maud's Meaburn bought the great Wharton estates in Westmorland;<sup>13</sup> and when in 1750 Sir James Lowther, of Maud's Meaburn, inherited the estates of the Lowther and Whitehaven branches of the family, he seems to have felt able to contest the power of the Tuftons, who were the most powerful family in Westmorland. He chose to make his stand in the borough of Appleby at the election of 1754. The Tuftons won this bitter and expensive<sup>14</sup> struggle, but the Lowther candidates petitioned, and the select committee set aside the election. A formal compromise was then arranged, whereby each family re-

<sup>9</sup> Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People, 1815-1830* (London [1929]), p. 4 and note, p. 5; Feiling, *Second Tory Party*, p. 288.

<sup>10</sup> The *Times*, reprinting from local papers, gives full transcripts of his speeches on 29 January, 17 February, 31 March, and 8 April.

<sup>11</sup> *Middle Years*, II, 768, 786-7, letters from D. W. to Mrs. Clarkson on the good order in Westmorland.

<sup>12</sup> Brougham's instability and political shiftiness, of course provided W. W. with material for criticism.

<sup>13</sup> R. S. Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s from the Restoration to the Reform Bill of 1867* (London, 1871), p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Before the election it was estimated the £50,000 would be spent. *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London and New York, 1857), II, 390.

tained one of the Appleby seats. And from 1754 to 1832 no election in Appleby ever went to a contest.<sup>15</sup>

During the latter half of the eighteenth century the Lowthers gained control of six of the remaining eight seats in the two counties. The two Cockermouth seats they got by default, because the Wyndhams were paying attention to their southern estates. One of the Cumberland county seats came to them after the election of 1768, when they arranged a compromise with the Portland interests; and one of the Carlisle seats became theirs by a similar compromise with the Howards after 1790. In Westmorland after 1774 they were sufficiently powerful to keep one seat for themselves and to see that either a Lowther, a Fleming, or a Muncaster had the other. Between 1774 and 1818 no county election in Westmorland ever went to a contest.<sup>16</sup>

Between 1660 and 1867 the Lowthers seated twenty-one members of the family, plus several connections by marriage. In the seventeenth century Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, sat for Cumberland for thirty-one years. A Westmorland seat was held by Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, from 1674 to 1700, by Colonel James Lowther from 1774 to 1812, and by Colonel H. C. Lowther for the next fifty-five years.<sup>17</sup>

There are two more or less well-known examples of the political tactics which raised the Lowthers from minor members of the gentry to this pre-eminent position in the two counties. The first is the suit with the Duke of Portland over the Forest of Inglewood. In May, 1696 William III granted the reversion of the Honour of Penrith to the then Earl of Portland. In 1705, on the death of Catherine of Braganza, who had held the land, the Earl entered into possession, not only of the Honour but also of the Forest of Inglewood and the Socage Manor of Carlisle, which he understood to have been included in the original grant. The Portland family continued in undisturbed possession until July 1767, when Sir James Lowther (the first Earl, Wordsworth's enemy) petitioned the Treasury for lease of the land for his own and two other lives, alleging that the Forest and Socage Manor were in fact Crown lands not included in the original grant.

<sup>15</sup> R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1894), pp. 153-4.

<sup>16</sup> Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s.*, pp. 72, 152, 212. And see his list of Members.

<sup>17</sup> Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s.*, pp. 222-3, and list of Members.

Investigation proved that the land in question had been expressly excluded from the original grant. Even so, since his family had been in possession for sixty years, Portland had a title which only the Crown could impugn,<sup>18</sup> though apparently by a prerogative that was more theoretical than actual: Junius says that Grafton revived the principle of *nullum tempus occurrit regi*.

Of course what everyone was interested in was the votes of the three hundred freeholders, all of whom were subject to the influence of the holder of the baronial right. Presumably the King and Government saw in Lowther's case an opportunity to further weaken the power of the great Revolution families. At any rate, Lowther had a good deal of cooperation from London. The Surveyor-General, for example, would not allow Portland access to the records to prove his title; and while he was still engaged in preparing his case, he was told that the Treasury felt bound to accept the Surveyor-General's recommendation that the lands be leased to Lowther.<sup>19</sup> At once the Opposition introduced a bill which would have set aside the principle of *nullum tempus*. This was rejected by a majority of twenty, and shortly afterwards Parliament was dissolved.

In Cumberland the ensuing election is said to have cost £130,000. Lowther's agents were out with bribes and with threats to the property rights of such old county families as the Senhouses and Fetherstonhaughs. One Portland supporter wrote to the Duke

The Alarm has been great, and you may be sure has been spread with all the wanton Insolence, that the Father of Lies himself, and his Infernal Agents could devise. . . . And in common discourse, every person who has any lands within, or within two miles of the Forest, are proscribed and delivered over to perdition.<sup>20</sup>

Norfolk, Portland, Carlisle, Egremont, and 'most of the gentlemen in the county' opposed Lowther, and the election was inde-

<sup>18</sup> Portland wrote Grafton protesting 'that after a possession of upwards of 60 years, any Man shall be at Liberty thro' personal Pique or Resentment, to shake the very foundations of Property, to sow Apprehensions and Disquietude in many of the first and wealthiest families of the Kingdom. . . ." A. S. Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners* (London [1939]), II, 109.

<sup>19</sup> Portland's comment to Grafton makes the political aspect quite clear: 'The jealousy that every honest & sensible man entertains of the Crown's interfering in Elections is well known' (*Ibid.*, p. 112).

<sup>20</sup> Turberville, *Welbeck Abbey*, II, 117.



cisive: Curwen, the Portland candidate, was elected along with Sir James. The latter, however, was unseated on petition. In the end Portland, whom the contest had nearly ruined, was forced into a compromise, under which the Lowthers controlled one of the county seats until 1831.<sup>21</sup>

In the Carlisle mushroom elections of 1786 and 1790, in which he was trying to break the power of the Howards in Carlisle, Sir James used a dispute between the Corporation and the eight city guilds over the qualifications for election to the freedom of the city. On 11 and 28 October, 1784 he had the Corporation repeal all orders and by-laws which made membership in a guild necessary to admission to the freedom, and all which limited the rights of the Corporation to create freemen. On the 29th the Corporation created several new freemen; the next day, using lists prepared by Lonsdale's agent, they created 1195 new freemen, of whom five hundred were colliers employed by Lonsdale. In the preceding century, 1520 freemen had been created; in the following six months 1443 were elected, most of them not even resident. Since the votes of the new freemen were decisive (though Parliament refused to seat the Lowther candidates after the election of 1786 and the general election of 1790), the Howards had to enter into a compromise which gave one seat to the Lowthers.<sup>22</sup>

## II

Though occurring fifty or sixty years before the Westmorland campaign of 1818, these events are not irrelevant. They not only illustrate how the Lowthers got their power, but also suggest how they kept it. In 1792 Oldfield noted that Lonsdale had purchased

<sup>21</sup> As for the question of the land, in the next session the *nullum tempus* bill was passed, with a clause saving the rights of Sir James if he exercised them within a year. He at once instituted ejectment proceedings against the tenants, but this action was nonsuited, and the lease itself was abrogated under the Civil List Act of Queen Anne. Afterwards Portland sold his rights in the land to the Duke of Devonshire.

This account is based on G. O. Trevelyan, *The Early History of Charles James Fox* (New York and London: [n.d.]), pp. 355-59; the Victoria County History, *Cumberland* (Westminster, 1901-05), II, 310-11; Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, G. F. R. Barker, ed. (London, 1894), III, 102; T. H. B. Oldfield, *The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1816), III, 238.

<sup>22</sup> Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s*, pp. 196-8.

a majority of the burgageholds, which bore the franchise in Cocker-mouth, and that he was careful to see that they were tenanted by 'such only as will obey his recommendation as implicitly as the fourteen hundred colliers he caused to be made in one day freemen of Carlisle.'<sup>23</sup> In 1816 he was, nevertheless, surprised that the borough was controlled by Lonsdale instead of Egremont, who was lord of the manor and could appoint the returning officer. Then he adds, 'A certain person stole the court-seal [of the manorial court-leet] some years ago, and it has since been used without his lordship's authority. . . .'<sup>24</sup> According to Oldfield, Appleby might well have been a Cornish borough, for there hog-sties were 'deemed freeholds' and purchased by the Lowthers and Tuftons 'at a price exceeding all belief.'<sup>25</sup>

In 1818 the Lowthers used, or tried to use, the land assessment list to disfranchise opposing voters.<sup>26</sup> For in May (the election was in June) Brougham asked the Treasury whether an order had been issued to district assessors to halt the land tax assessments.<sup>27</sup> Receiving an equivocal answer, he next day read the alleged order. Lushington then denied that the Treasury had issued or sanctioned any such order; he explained that a question had risen over the title of some forty-shilling cottages. Apparently he was trying to say that the order was limited to the cottages in question. Brougham asked, and it seems a reasonable enough question, why tax officers should be concerned with examining the titles of persons who were willing to pay the taxes they were supposed to collect. At this point Lord Lowther intervened in the debate to say that he knew nothing at all about the matter, but he questioned the authenticity of the order. The chances are that it was authentic, for in a moment Sir

<sup>23</sup> T. H. B. Oldfield, *An Entire and Complete History, Political and Personal, of the Boroughs of Great Britain* (London, 1792), I, 199.

<sup>24</sup> Oldfield, *Representative History*, III, 269. (This is a revised edition of the *Entire and Complete History* mentioned in the previous note.)

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 90. Was it, perhaps, hog-sties that Wordsworth and his brother purchased and distributed among their friends, to help save Westmorland from Brougham? See *Middle Years*, II, 805-6, 831 and John Henry Overton and Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1888), p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> So had the first Earl in 1786. Edward Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons* (Cambridge, 1909), I, 26.

<sup>27</sup> By an act of 20 George III (1770) the county franchise had been made dependent on payment of the land tax within six months of an election.

James Graham was explaining that 'many persons had been pressing forward in the county of Westmorland, claiming to be assessed, who had never before been assessed for the land tax, and whose ancestors even had never been assessed.' He thought it was obvious that the tax office should have instituted inquiries; and so it was, though Lushington had indicated that titles were in question, not taxes.

In the course of debate over the next two days, Brougham alleged that Johnson, the secretary of the Lowther election committee, had asked to have the returns to the land tax for the Lowther property published (as by law the assessors were required to do) but had done nothing about the Thanet property. The point is that the voters had the right to check this list and to appeal to the county tax commissioners or magistrates for correction of inaccuracies. In addition, Brougham said, the commissioners did not meet on the day required by law but about a month later, when they issued an order that assessments should not be made before the 27th June (the poll began on 30 June). He added that the commissioners were members of the Lowther election committee. Lowther, who had followed Lushington in denying any knowledge of the matter of Brougham's first charge, now finally had to speak. He viewed the application of so many persons to be taxed as a novel occurrence, perhaps the only instance of its kind in the Kingdom. He explained the delay (thus admitting the substance of Brougham's complaint) by 'the difficulty which the commissioners found in digesting the numerous acts respecting the land tax, and applying them to the district in question.' He was, he went on, willing to state 'that the commissioners of the land tax in Westmorland had exerted themselves with the greatest vigilance.'<sup>28</sup> In the poll, as it turned out, eighty Brougham votes were rejected on account of defects in the land tax assessments.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Hansard, s. 1, xxxviii (1818), 954-5 (26 May), 988-92 (27 May), 1015-16 (28 May), 1053-5 (1 June). Compare also 500-1 (4 May), where Lowther apparently was opposing a bill to reform the cumbersome Land Tax Assessment Act of 1780.

<sup>29</sup> W. W. Bean, *The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England* (Hull, 1890), p. 602.

## III

The tally of votes suggests that the election could never have been in doubt,<sup>30</sup> but (perhaps it was only out of habit) the Lowthers fought as if Dorothy Wordsworth's darkest fears were justified. They surrounded Brougham with troops, sailors, and special constables: from Liverpool they brought four or five stage coaches of sailors and carpenters at five shillings a day; they armed two hundred special constables; they hired miners from Alston Moor—to preserve order, they said, but Brougham thought it was to terrify his supporters. In late June Brougham told Lambton (i. e., Lord Durham) that he had a letter in which a naval officer offered £150 for four votes; the letter named Lonsdale, and Brougham hoped that he was in fact implicated.<sup>31</sup> Probably that Lowthers were as lavish in 1818 as in 1826, when they hired horses by the hundreds and many coaches to bring voters to the poll.<sup>32</sup>

The Lowthers resurrected, and showed to Wordsworth, a letter from Wilberforce to Lonsdale, enclosing without comment a letter of 1806 from Brougham in which he suggested that Lonsdale might bring him in for Westmorland if he obtained the support of Government and of the Whig landlords like Lord Thanet.<sup>33</sup> Wordsworth went to work and turned out an amusing bit of campaign verse, 'The Scottish Broom on Birdnest Brae.'<sup>34</sup>

In addition to this shrewd personal attack on Brougham, Wordsworth used the Two Addresses to raise the more general issue of Brougham's campaign as a threat to that delicate balance of classes which he was at the moment coming to consider the great ruling

<sup>30</sup> Viscount Lowther, 1211; Colonel Lowther, 1157; Brougham, 889. Ferguson, *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s*, p. 236.

<sup>31</sup> *Middle Years*, II, 808, 811, 814; Aspinall, *Brougham*, pp. 90-1.

<sup>32</sup> A. L. Strout, 'Wordsworth vs Brougham,' *N & Q*, CLXXIV (1938), 381-3, at p. 383, quoting the *Westmorland Gazette*.

<sup>33</sup> Aspinall, *Brougham*, p. 88. The letter and Lonsdale's refusal are printed in *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Lonsdale*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Part VII (London, 1893), p. 184.

<sup>34</sup> Note Lockhart to Scott, during the campaign of 1826: 'Dr. Maginn has been taken down to Lowther Hall to assist in the Squibbery, and I think Wordsworth and he will make a pretty homogeneous work of it, for the great Laker also is enlisted—if report speak truly.' *The Private Letter Books of Sir Walter Scott*, ed., Wilfred Partington (London, 1930), p. 40.

principle of the state. The Lowther political power, he argued, was 'the natural and reasonable consequence of a long-continued possession of large property'; and such property defended the rights and property of the middle class (he meant the smaller gentry, not the industrial middle class), as well as the patriotism of the country. In this way it was a symbol for all the virtues of the 'mellowed feudality' of England.<sup>35</sup> Here he seems to have been thinking of something like that 'spiritual medium,' in which, according to Professor Driver, Oastler felt that human activity ought to take place, and which included 'loyalties and resentments, custom and hopes, and the promise of an eternal destiny.'<sup>36</sup>

But surely at this time he was fighting a straw man. Disunity there may have been; the *mystique* of feudalism perhaps was being destroyed. But this was no more than the physical sign—civil disorder—of the obsolescence of the British system of local government. The attachment of landlord, tenant, and farm laborer—which Wordsworth was really describing—had been the basis of the local power of the country gentry, which the connection between the town and country had carried into the boroughs. Together the two had formed the parliamentary (that is, national) power of the landed interest. For centuries England had been run by a governmental mechanism based on the 'social conceptions of "rank and station" and "deference to one's betters"' and on the feudal theory of government by 'interests'—by the political power of the personal following of a man of family.<sup>37</sup> In 1818, no doubt, the Constitution in Church and State—the rural magistracy, tithes and impropriated land—seemed to be threatened as the unrepresented resorted to their only weapon—civil disorder. But the threat hardly came from either the Whigs, no considerable group of whom had as yet aligned themselves with the industrial middle class, or from that 'most importunate of Economists,'<sup>38</sup> the unpredictable Henry Brougham. Lord Grey had already withdrawn to Northumberland, where he was defending the House of

<sup>35</sup> *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London, 1876), I, 235, 239.

<sup>36</sup> Cecil Driver, *Tory Radical, The Life of Richard Oastler* (New York, 1946), p. 433. Cf. W. W. *Prose Works*, I, 251-2.

<sup>37</sup> R. L. Hill, *Toryism and the People, 1832-1846* (London, 1929), p. 10 and Introduction (by Keith Feiling), p. vi.

<sup>38</sup> *Prose Works*, I, 233.



Commons against the democratic spirit,<sup>39</sup> and Brougham had lately been trying to disavow an incautious statement to the electors of Westminster, made when, as Wordsworth shrewdly pointed out, ultra-radical ideas of reform seemed profitable, with a vacancy about to occur in that turbulent borough.<sup>40</sup>

Besides seeking for issues like this one, Wordsworth had to defend the Lowthers against Brougham's charges of corruption and nepotism. For this he used the columns of the *Westmorland Gazette*; in general he denied what he could; where that was not possible, he tried to justify the Lowther actions. When Brougham questioned an electoral system that allowed great families to use Parliamentary seats to keep their cadets occupied, Wordsworth replied that sons of noblemen ought to be put into Parliament or public service, 'for they are exposed from their situations to peculiar temptations; and no engagements are so likely to wean them from dissipation and unprofitable pleasures, as the interests which attach to important public business.'<sup>41</sup> If Peers were not represented in Commons by persons under their influence, Wordsworth argued, their estates would be 'little better than sand liable to be blown about in the desert. . . .'<sup>42</sup> Wordsworth had to admit that Westmorland had not 'for a long time [since 1774] been disturbed by electioneering contests,' but this, he said, was the result

<sup>39</sup> See his speech of 19 September, 1817, quoted by Halévy, *English People*, p. 34.

<sup>40</sup> Hansard, s. 1, xxxv (1817), 360-7 (14 February), 370-4 (17 February). For W. W.'s use of the interchange in Commons, see *Prose Works*, I, 242-3.

<sup>41</sup> John Edwin Wells, 'Wordsworth and De Quincey in Westmorland Politics, 1818,' *PMLA*, LV (1940), 1087.

<sup>42</sup> *Prose Works*, I, 238. Compare R. P. Wood, writing to Lonsdale in 1806: He regarded himself 'now as entirely belonging to the Lowther party,' and 'It is with the greatest truth that I repeat that a seat in Parliament is nothing in comparison with the thought that I have enjoyed your confidence, and shared, as well as acted upon, your opinions' (Porritt, *Unreformed Commons*, I, 336-7). Also Pitt to his mother in 1789, when Sir James Lowther offered him one of the Appleby seats: 'No kind of condition was mentioned, but that if ever our lines of conduct should become opposite, I should give him an opportunity of choosing another person.' 'Appleby is the place I am to represent, and the election will be made . . . without my having any trouble, or even visiting my constituents' (Earl Stanhope, *Life of the Right Honorable William Pitt*, London, 1879, I, 36-7).

of the 'silent acquiescence and deliberate consent' of the people, who did not want the unnecessary expense of a contest.<sup>43</sup>

The Brougham committee had asserted that Lord Lowther held sinecures worth two or three thousand a year, and that thus it could be said that public money was being spent in his campaign. Wordsworth answered that this accused the Lowthers of being 'parties to a scheme of unfeeling festivity, in which local insult was added to public robbery! !' Moreover Viscount Lowther held no sinecures, or certainly none worth so much money: his Commissionership for India, though an honorary office, brought him no money; he worked for the £1100 he received as a Treasury Lord. And as a matter of fact, the dinner in question had been paid for by the Lowther election committee—'the Country gentlemen, the Clergy, the heads of all the Liberal Professions, leading Persons in Trade, and substantial Yeomanry, in short, the chief of their Neighbours and Fellow-townsmen, whom [the people] had been accustomed to respect, and whom they depended on in sickness and health for every kind of help and support.'<sup>44</sup>

When Brougham attacked Government for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, Wordsworth simply asserted that events had justified suspension, though a year before he seems to have doubted its necessity.<sup>45</sup> Apparently Brougham must have alluded to the seizure of Valenciennes by the Austrians in 1793; at least Wordsworth found it necessary to defend the Government's action at the time. He argues that they must have given 'a strong remonstrance.' Then he continues, 'But the dictates of magnanimity . . . would have been—"this unjust act must either be abandoned, or Great Britain shall retire from a contest which, if such principles are to govern, or interfere with the conduct of it, cannot but be calamitous." A threat to this purpose was either not given or not acted upon.' This is an ingeniously confused argument, and it must mean that Wordsworth knew that Greville and Pitt had in fact offered Lille, Valenciennes, and other border cities to Austria in an effort to commit that country to the war with France and to

<sup>43</sup> *Prose Works*, I, 234. At I, 223 he says that the franchise was not withheld but allowed to lie dormant.

<sup>44</sup> Wells, *PMLA*, LV, 1086-7.

<sup>45</sup> *Prose Works*, I, 230-1. On his attitude in 1817, see *Middle Years*, II, 779, a letter of D. W. to Mrs. Clarkson, 2 March, 1817. The bill to suspend was brought in on 27 February.

forestall the proposed exchange of the Electorate of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands.<sup>46</sup>

In such arguments as these it is difficult to see Wordsworth's interest in the permanent issues of politics. Nor do his actions in the campaign suggest the disinterest with which he has been credited. He did, after all, buy freehold land and distribute it among his friends both before and after the election, as did his brother Christopher. Apparently he did not even contribute any ideas to the campaign, for Brougham was answering precisely the arguments that appear in Wordsworth's Two Addresses before the appearance of the Addresses. Wordsworth must simply have given his name and his own peculiar style to ideas already developed by the Lowther election committee.

It seems clear that Wordsworth had simply been called in to defend a family political machine, an example of the political jobbery and personal control that characterized unreformed England. This he did competently enough, though even the instability of Henry Brougham hardly warranted the apparent fear, the exaggeration, and the irrelevant arguments with which Wordsworth met his campaign. I do not see why time and tenderness should alter the judgment of Peacock.

Brougham is contesting Westmoreland [*sic*] against the Lowthers. Wordsworth has published an *Address to the Freeholders*, in which he says they ought not to choose so poor a man as Brougham, riches being the only guarantees of political integrity. He goes farther than this and actually asserts that the Commons ought to be chosen by the Peers. Now there is a pretty rascal for you. Southey and the whole gang are supporting the Lowthers, *per fas et nefas*, and seem inclined to hold out a yet more flagrant specimen of the degree of moral degradation to which selfsellers can fall under the domination of seat-sellers. The example will not be without its use. Of course, during the election, Wordsworth dines every day at Lord Lonsdale's.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227. On the negotiations with Austria, see J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War* (London, 1911), p. 122.

<sup>47</sup> *The Works of Thomas Love Peacock*, ed., H. F. B. Brett-Smith and C. E. Jones (London, New York, 1934), VIII, 199.

## FONTANE AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848

In 1935, Mr. Arthur L. Davis published an essay on Fontane and the Revolution of 1848.<sup>1</sup> If thirteen years later the attempt is made to amend and reinterpret the material of his article, it is not done to dispute the validity of anything said heretofore. Fontane is too clear and outspoken for that. Rather, it is hoped that this complement to the existing publications will add to the picture of the poet and help in the understanding of a type of German intellectual whom we know to exist today.

In 1848, Fontane was in Berlin. He had followed the political events in Germany with keen interest for many years. As a pharmacist's apprentice he had read many of the anti-reactionary papers of Berlin.<sup>2</sup> When he moved to Leipzig in 1840, he absorbed the liberal ideas of the members of the Herwegh Club and shared the hopes for liberal reform which were entertained by everyone when Frederick William IV succeeded to the Prussian throne.<sup>3</sup> At the age of twenty-five, he served his year in the army and was introduced into the conservative group of the "Tunnel über der Spree." He was working as a pharmacist in a rather poor section of Berlin when the Revolution broke out.

Fontane's autobiography relates with humor the happenings near the Alexanderplatz in March 1848; how he, in his enthusiasm, joined a mob in the attack on a theater and how a bystander restored his sense of perspective with a laconic "Na, hören Sie . . ." and ended the "Winkelriedun."<sup>4</sup> It also tells about his election as *Wahlmann* but ignores Fontane's literary and epistolary occupation with the events of the day.<sup>5</sup> For his interest in the Revolution remained unabated in spite of his disgust for a cowardly and undisciplined mob on the one hand and inefficient assemblies on the other. In the summer of 1848, he published four articles in the

<sup>1</sup> Arthur L. Davis, "Fontane and the Revolution of 1848," *MLN.* (January 1935), pp. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*, 2, II, 17. This and subsequent references to Fontane's works are to series, volume, and page of the *Gesammelte Werke Jubiläumsausgabe*, Berlin, 1920.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, II, 391 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 413-417.

*Berliner Zeitungshalle*<sup>6</sup> which show him in full accord with the aims of the Revolution: unity and freedom. Prussia, he felt, was too weak to bring about German unity; therefore it had to give way to forces which could achieve this goal. As for freedom, his "politisches Glaubensbekenntnis von 1848" agreed with the words "... die er in jener Arbeit über Marwitz aus dessen Munde anführt und nachdrücklich unterstreicht: 'Die Freiheit ist das allein Wertvolle, und alles Wissen kann in einem Sklavenlande nicht gedeihen, nicht echte Frucht treiben.'"<sup>7</sup> Alexander von der Marwitz was anything but a liberal so that this concurrence of opinions would be "merkwürdig"<sup>8</sup> indeed, if it were not obvious that Fontane and the populace were thinking of different things when they used the slogans of the Revolution.

When in 1930 Julius Petersen published seven letters of Fontane to Bernhard von Lepel, he made a most valuable contribution to the literature of the Revolution year proper. If *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig* deals largely with the beginning of the revolt, these letters deal with its end; whereas the former is the work of a reminiscing old gentleman, the latter are free of the "Ironie, mit der der Rückblick des Alten seine Revolutionserinnerung färbte."<sup>9</sup>

In September 1848, Fontane was in Bethanien, a Protestant hospital in one of the nicest sections of Berlin. Here he learned about actions and orders of counterrevolutionary ministers and generals, and once more his indignation was aroused. From the quiet Mariannenplatz he wrote to a Prussian nobleman to lend him a rifle, since the moment "erheischt Thaten, oder doch Wort und That."<sup>10</sup> The request received another "na, hören Sie . . ." although the sobering effect of Lepel's answer was not immediately apparent. "Freund, verdirb mir nicht unnütz die Freude, die ich an Dir habe;" wrote von Lepel; "lege die Untugenden, die mich nach gerade an Dir ärgern, ab u. scheitere bei Deinem Republi-

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Heinrich Spiero, *Fontane*, Wittenberg, 1928, pp. 39 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Julius Petersen, *Fontane im Revolutionsjahr 1848*, Berlin, W. Buchsenstein, 1930, p. 3. Reference is to this edition, although these letters are now also to be found in *Theodor Fontane und Bernhard von Lepel. Ein Freundschaftsbriefwechsel*, hrsg. von J. Petersen, München, C. H. Beck, 1940, 2 Bände.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.



kanismus nicht an der Klippe den *gentleman* dran geben zu müssen."<sup>11</sup> Fontane replied immediately and admitted the absurdity of his request. But the injustices committed made him retract only his bitterness and not his point of view. And as to the gentleman, "Was soll ich dazu sagen . . . ?"<sup>12</sup> Lepel knew Fontane better than Fontane himself. In his next letter he repeated his Leitmotiv: "Das schlimmste Wort, das Du aussprichst, ist das, dass Du Dir nichts daraus machst, in Gefahr zu stehn, nicht mehr gentleman like zu bleiben."<sup>13</sup>

Fontane's defense was a factual account of Prussian history. Giving the Prussian princes much credit for the growth of Prussia, he felt that the common people had been responsible for the liberation from the Napoleonic yoke and that they were being cheated out of their gains. Their demands seemed more than modest. They wanted freedom, and "ein gutes und gesittetes Volk ist immer reif für die Freiheit."<sup>14</sup> And they wanted it not as charity.

Sie [die Könige] können sich darin nicht schicken dem Volke sein Darlehn zurückgeben, sie wollen nichts hören vom "souveränen Volke" das zu fordern hat, sie wollen immer noch schenken—aus Gnade, und nach Gefallen. Das Volk kann aber keine Gnade gebrauchen; es will nicht mal "vereinbaren", sondern es spricht ganz deutlich: "das will ich! und was noch übrig bleibt, das kannst Du behalten." Der ächte Constitutionalismus ist weiter nichts als ein Compliment vor dem sogenannten "historischen Recht,"—ist nichts andres als eine Pensionierung der Kinder für die Dienste, die die Väter geleistet haben, ein *gentlemanlike's* Benehmen des sonst etwas groben und rücksichtslosen Volkes.<sup>15</sup>

It is evident that the "gentleman" stuck in Fontane's mind, and also that he could be an advocate of republicanism only as long as he believed in the inner nobility of the common people. Did he still believe in it in November 1848? The last long letter to Lepel reiterates once more the history of the year, but the rights of the people play a smaller part than the wrongs committed by the King.<sup>16</sup>

By 1849, Fontane realized that he had labored under certain misconceptions. The people had not organized their demands nor their forces. They were not really "ein gutes und gesittetes Volk." And if Prussia was weak and ruled by *Willkür*, it was still the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-29.

strongest power available. "Wäre es denkbar, dass sich aus Lippe-Schaumburg oder aus Hohenzollern-Hechingen ein grosses, einiges Deutschland bilden könne und wolle, so würd' ich preussische Regierung und preussisches Volk verachten;" he wrote to Wolfsohn.<sup>17</sup> As it was not thinkable, he tried to improve the existing Prussia in the name of a vanished one. The state of Frederick II had by no means been ideal, but it had been a "Rechtsstaat." In advocating a "militärisch organisierten Rechtsstaat" in place of the "Schreckensregiment polizeilicher Willkür"<sup>18</sup> he felt he was helping the cause of democracy. This may seem as extreme moderation and in contrast with previous statements, but one must not forget that Fontane's concept of Eighteenth-Century Prussia was different from ours. A letter from 1888 contains the rhetorical question "was kann preussischer sein, als Minna v. Barnhelm und Nathan?"<sup>19</sup> And certainly, his plea based on a glorious historical tradition appealed to more people than the arguments of "3 Polen, 2 Juden und einem Zuchthäusler."<sup>20</sup>

The vicissitudes of his personal life during the fifties made for an occasional outburst against Prussia, but in objective moments, Fontane's thinking showed consistency. In Brussels in 1852, he was reminded of the time when good citizens were able to run their own affairs; but since then, "der Götze der Bequemlichkeit hat den Gott der Freiheit in den Staub getreten."<sup>21</sup> And the same Fontane who in 1852 hoped to have the King as godfather for a seventh son "auf gut preussisch"<sup>22</sup> expressed the wish in 1856 that his next child be born on November 4. "Das ist der langerwartete Tag, wo in Nordamerika die Präsidentenwahl stattfindet."<sup>23</sup> The United States and medieval Holland and Belgium showed the kind of dignity which justifies revolutions. As a man in his seventies he referred again to the "Betrachtung eines beständig fortschreitenden

<sup>17</sup> *Theodor Fontanes Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Wolfsohn*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Wolters, Berlin, 1910, p. 46.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-52. A German officer gave the same "Rechtsstaat" idea as the reason for the Staußenberg *Attentat* on Hitler.

<sup>19</sup> Letter to Leo Berg, July 8, 1888, facsimile 1928.

<sup>20</sup> Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> Theodor Fontane, *Briefe an seine Familie*, hrsg. von K. E. O. Fritsch, Berlin, F. Fontane & Co., iv. Aufl.; 1905, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Amerikanismus, eines eigentümlich freiheitlichen Entwicklungsganges, den zu verfolgen seit Jahr und Tag meine Passion ist."<sup>24</sup> In 1857 he was on the side of the Sepoys: "Mein Herz jubelt stets, wenn ein getretenes Volk, Christ oder Heide, seine Bedrücker niederwirft."<sup>25</sup>

Between 1858 and 1860, Fontane had occasion to review the events of 1848, this time from the angle of the conservative forces. *Die Grafschaft Ruppin*, the first volume of the *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*, appeared in 1860 and contains the history of the Regiment Mecklenburg-Schwerin which had a part in the quelling of the rebellion.

"Es war eben nicht alles so, wie es sein sollte;" Fontane begins his sketch of the background.<sup>26</sup> The promises of 1815 had not been kept, and that was why freedom was born. "Aber sie konnte ihren unmittelbaren Ursprung nicht verleugnen, und mit jedem Tage wurde es klarer, dass sie von der Gasse stammte."<sup>27</sup> The poet is speaking of Berlin, and in particular of the *Zeughaussturm*:

Ein lehrreiches Kapitel in der Geschichte der Revolutionen, zugleich ein treffliches Beispiel dafür, dass Unternehmungen von einer nicht wegzudisputierenden historischen Bedeutung oft nicht bloss durch die zweifelhaftesten, sondern auch geradezu kümmerlichsten Mittel in Szene gesetzt werden. Hundert oder zweihundert verwegene Bursche, Bursche, die was auch kommen möge, nur zu gewinnen haben, rottieren sich zusammen, und in weniger als einer halben Stunde sind aus den zweihundert zwanzigtausend geworden.<sup>28</sup>

However, the number means little. Everybody wants to watch, and nobody wants to take the initiative. "Wer das im Auge hat, wird solcher Bewegungen in der Regel leicht Herr werden."<sup>29</sup>

How different, how sympathetic is the description of the street fights in Dresden! And this is the reason:

Es handelte sich also nicht um 'Gesindel,' das bekämpft werden sollte, sondern, wie schon hervorgehoben, um eine Elite-Truppe, die nach Intellekt,

<sup>24</sup> Cf. A. L. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Theodor Fontane, *Briefe Zweite Sammlung*, hrsg. von O. Pniower und P. Schlenther, third ed. 1910, vol. 1, p. 183.

<sup>26</sup> Theodor Fontane, *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*, Erster Teil, Wohlfleile Ausgabe, 14. und 15. Aufl., Stuttgart und Berlin, Cotta, 1912, p. 244.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Wissen und bürgerlicher Stellung erheblich höher stand, als die uckermärkischen Füsiliere, die hier unsererseits in den Kampf eintraten. Je bestimmter ich auf Seiten dieser letzteren stehe, desto freier darf ich es auch aussprechen, dass nichts falscher und ungerechter ist, als auf die Scharen des Mai-Aufstandes verächtlich herabzublicken. Die Schuld lag bei den Führern. Und auch hier ist noch zu sichten. Neben Ehrgeizigen und Böswilligen standen aufrichtig begeisterte Leute. Eine Republik herstellen wollen, ist nicht notwendig eine Dummheit, am wenigsten eine Gemeinheit.<sup>30</sup>

Everything Fontane said about revolutions after 1860 sounds like a summary of earlier statements. There is really no paradox between the ideas expressed in *Fester Befehl*, the famous poem written around 1889<sup>31</sup> and the remarks in his autobiography and letters of four years later. For the same Fontane who distrusted unsuccessful revolutions<sup>32</sup> wrote to Bernhard Caspar: "Revolutionen gehen zum grossen Teile von Gesindel, *Va banque*-Spielern oder Verrückten aus, und was wären wir ohne Revolutionen. Das sage ich, der ich eigentlich ein Philister bin."<sup>33</sup> Not until the year of his death, 1898, does 1848 become "langweilig" to the old gentleman.<sup>34</sup>

Did Fontane change his mind on the Revolution of 1848? At one time, he had believed Prussia incapable of unifying Germany. He revised that opinion. His concept of freedom had always been different from that of those who wanted to change the face of the world. The artist in him may at all times have been aware of the fact that some forms of socialism actually lead as far away from freedom as autocracy. In the autobiographical notes of the painter Wilhelm Gentz he found this expressed very clearly: "Die persönliche Freiheit ist mir in der Politik das Ideal. Daher bekenne ich mich nicht zur Sozialdemokratie, die ein Untergraben derselben bedeutet."<sup>35</sup> As a historian he wanted any change to be linked with a tradition and for that purpose idealized Old Prussia. As a Berliner, he shared many of the characteristics of all Berliners. A passage from Ricarda Huch's *Alte und neue Götter* may illustrate what is meant by this:

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Davis, *op. cit.*, where the poem is given as the conclusion.

<sup>32</sup> *Meine Kinderjahre*, 2, I, 195.

<sup>33</sup> Theodor Fontane, *Briefe Zweite Sammlung*, hrsg. von O. Pniower und P. Schlenther, second ed. 1910, vol. 2, p. 311.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>35</sup> *Wanderungen*, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Die Geistesverfassung und Eigenart der Berliner gaben dieser Revolution den wunderlichen, aus Schrecken und Komik gemischten Charakter. Barrikaden schossen auf, Kanonen brüllten, Flammen schlugen gegen den mond hellen Himmel, Blut floss und Sterbende stürzten auf das aufgerissene Pflaster; aber die Gutgelauntheit und der unerschütterliche Witz des Volkes, die dickbäuchige Wichtigtuerei der Honoratioren, die handfeste Gelassenheit der Arbeiter, der gesunde Menschenverstand aller, liessen ein rechtes Pathos nicht aufkommen. Die Deputationen aus der Bürgerschaft, die zum König marschierten, der Austausch zutraulicher und landesväterlicher Sätze, zwischen denen nur hin und wieder ein böser Blick oder ein beissendes Lächeln aufzuckte, die Versammlungen unter den Zelten und die Reden grossmäuliger Demokraten, pfflig glossiert von feiernden Arbeitern und seelenvergnügten Bummlern, das alles hatte mehr von einem Schützenfeste als von einer Revolution.<sup>26</sup>

Mr. Davis in his conclusion stressed the fact that Fontane had been carried away by the wave of enthusiasm which swept all over Germany in 1848. Yet, while it was not in the poet's nature to identify himself with the rabble, the letters to von Lepel show that his enthusiasm was not quite so "fleeting" <sup>27</sup> as one might believe after reading *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*. And correct as it may be to say that Fontane realized "the mistakes in method and deficiencies in organization of the movement which attempted to establish prematurely a new political order," <sup>28</sup> this summary does justice to the historian and political realist only. As was illustrated, however, Fontane was also an artist and a Berliner. But above all he was—Lepel understood this, and the account of the struggle in Dresden proves it—a gentleman who knew that character can create as strange bedfellows as politics:

Man kann heute noch, innerhalb der politischen Welt, vielfach dasselbe beobachten. Konservative wie Liberale, die zufällig in ihrem zunächst gelegenen Kreise nur gröblich gearteten Elementen ihrer eigenen Partei begegnen, ziehen es vor, in Leben und Gesellschaft mit ihren Gegnern zu verkehren, sobald sie wahrnehmen, dass diese Gegner ihnen in Form und Sitte näher verwandt sind. Die Verschiedenartigkeit der Ansichten kann zwischen feineren Naturen unter Umständen zu einem Bindemittel werden, aber grob und fein schliessen einander aus.<sup>29</sup>

Speaking about his *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, Thomas Mann once said: "Ich habe meine Ansichten geändert, aber nicht

<sup>26</sup> Ricarda Huch, *Alte und neue Götter*, Berlin and Zürich, 1930, p. 338.

<sup>27</sup> A. L. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Wanderungen*, *op. cit.*, p. 63.



meine Gesinnung."<sup>40</sup> It seems that Richard Dehmel showed an almost uncanny intuition when he called the author of *Königliche Hoheit* the heir of Theodore Fontane.<sup>41</sup>

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#### FOUR UNPUBLISHED CHAUCER MANUSCRIPTS

Although the existence of the first three of the four texts published here has been known for some time, no one has seen fit to print or study them. Even so, they have a fair amount of textual interest, and their inaccessibility has led at least one scholar astray.<sup>1</sup> The fourth text, a copy of the last stanza and the envoy of the *Purse* in MS. 176, Caius College, Cambridge, was overlooked by Professor MacCracken when he printed the other two stanzas from that manuscript in 1912.<sup>2</sup>

In transcribing these texts,<sup>3</sup> I have ignored all flourishes that seem plainly meaningless, and have expanded the abbreviations, indicating the expansion by italics. The abbreviations are all normal. To each of the texts I have prefixed a statement of its affiliation, but the statement is necessarily very short because of the complexity of the material.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Private Conversation, January 1946.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* Quoted by Th. Mann from a Lost Letter.

<sup>1</sup> See below, fn. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *MLN*, xxvii (1912), 228-29. The first two stanzas appear on p. 23 of the MS. Professor MacCracken was presumably unaware that the last stanza and the envoy occur earlier. In 1940 Dr. J. W. Alexander and I, noting the statement "[under p. 12] Last stanza and envoi of ballad on purse, p. 23" in M. R. James's description of the MS. (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, [Cambridge, 1907], I, 201), requested a photograph of p. 12 but because of the war were unable to obtain it. The occurrence of the last stanza and the envoy in Caius College 176 has since been noted in the Brown-Robbins *Index of Middle English Verse*.

<sup>3</sup> The transcriptions are from photographs. I am grateful to the authorities of the British Museum and to the Librarians of Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge; Magdalene College, Cambridge; and Trinity College, Dublin, for permission to print the transcriptions. I am also indebted to Professor Robert Caldwell for transcribing for me, some years ago, the copy of *Truth* in the University of Chicago's photostat of Pepys 2006. (The transcription printed here, however, is my own.)

<sup>4</sup> The statements are from unpublished studies of the texts of *Truth*, the

I. *Truth*. MS. Additional 36983, British Museum, f. 262<sup>a</sup>.<sup>5</sup> Fifteenth Century.<sup>6</sup> Classification: Represents more closely than any other extant MS. the parent of the large group of authorities comprised of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 203; Fairfax 16 (2 copies), Bodleian; Harley 7333, British Museum; Hatton 73, Bodleian; Lambeth Palace Library 344; Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 20 (2 copies); Arch. Selden B. 24, Bodleian; and the prints of Caxton and Thynne.<sup>7</sup>

- Fle ffrom the pres and dwell with sotheffastnesse  
 Suffise vnto thy Goode though it be smalle  
 ffor horde hathe hate and clymyng tykilnes  
 Pres hathe envye and wele is blent ouer all
- [5] Sauoure nomore thenne the behove schall  
 Do wele thy selfe that other ffolke canst rede  
 And trouthe the schall deliuere it is no drede  
 Peyne the nat all crokid to redresse  
 In trust of hir that turneth as a balle
- [10] Grete rest stant in litle besynesse  
 Beware also to spurne a yenst an all  
 Stryue nat as dothe the crok with the wall  
 Daunt thy selfe þat dauntest others dede  
 And trouthe the schall deliuere it is no drede
- [15] That the is sent resceyve in buxumnesse  
 The wrastelyng of this worlde axeth a falle  
 Here is none home here is butt wildirnes  
 fforthe pilgrymme forthe; fforthe best oute of thy stalle  
 Loke vp on high and thank thy god of all
- [20] Wayse thy lust and lete thy gost the lede  
 And trouthe the schall deliuere it is no drede
- Lenvoy

#### Notes

4. blent] apparently written first as *brent* and corrected to *blent*. The reverse process, however, may have occurred.
18. ;] MS. has an inverted semicolon.

*Purse* (now in press in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, Volume I), and *Lak of Stedfastnesse*.

<sup>5</sup> This MS. was formerly the Bedford MS. It is described by Furnivall, "The Chaucer and the 'Cursor Mundi' MS. in the Bedford Library, Bedford," *Athenaeum*, Nov. 11, 1876, pp. 623-24.

<sup>6</sup> The date 1442 appear on f. 216<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Robinson's statement (*Chaucer*, p. 1037), "A<sup>3</sup> [Additional 36983] resembles F [the two copies in Fairfax]," implying near kinship, may be disregarded as too general. A<sup>3</sup> and the two copies in F simply belong to the same group of MSS; thus, in the same fashion that it resembles F, A<sup>3</sup> resembles any of the authorities listed above.

20. Wayse] error for *Weyve* (Fairfax<sup>1</sup> quoted). This is the MS.'s only unique reading.
22. Lenvoy] MS. jacks the envoy as well as the title. The scribe has written *Lenvoy* at the end of several poems, perhaps mistaking the word to mean something like "the end." There is thus no reason to think that the parent contained the envoy.

II. *Truth*. MS. Pepys 2006. Magdalene College, Cambridge, pp. 389-90.<sup>8</sup> Late Fifteenth Century. Classification: Stands textually immediately above Lansdowne 699, British Museum; de Worde's and Pynson's prints; and Arch. Selden B. 10, Bodleian, and immediately below Cambridge University Library Kk. 1. 5 in the group composed of those authorities.<sup>9</sup>

Le bon counsell—de Chaucer

Fle fro the pres and dwelle with sothfastnesse  
 Suffise vnto thi gode þough it be small  
 ffor horde hath hate and clymyngge tikilnesse  
 Pres hath enuye and wele is blent ouer all

- [5] Sauoure no more than bi houe shall  
 Rule thi self þat oþer folk kanst rede  
 And trouth the shall delyuer it is no drede

<sup>8</sup> The MS. has been described frequently; see, for example, Manly and Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, I, 406.

<sup>9</sup> Brusendorff's remarks on the Pepys 2006 text of *Truth* should be corrected. In discussing the Caxton booklet, *The Temple of bras*, he develops the following theory (*The Chaucer Tradition*, pp. 196-97): "All these items . . . are paralleled in Pepys I-II [Pepys II is Pepys 2006] in closely agreeing texts and accordingly we may safely assume the existence of a set of MS. booklets as the sources of Pepys-Caxton . . . This set must have comprised the following Chaucerian MSS." Among these MSS he lists, as No. 6, "A final booklet, containing half a dozen short poems by Chaucer with French titles, found chiefly in Pepys (II), but also partly in Caxton . . . and in Fairfax. . . ." Among these items (*d.* and *c.* respectively) are *Truth* ("*Le bon counsell—de Chaucer* [PII, C III (Caxton), F I-II (the two copies in Fairfax)]") and the *Purse* ("*La complaint de Chaucer a sa Bourse Voide* [P II, C II (*The complaint of Anelida*), F II]").

The Pepys 2006 text of *Truth*, however, cannot have had the same source as Caxton's print: not only do the two texts belong to separate MS. groups, but neither stands at the head of its group (Caxton's print, indeed, is low). The texts of the *Purse* in Caxton and in Fairfax cannot have had an exclusive common ancestor (cf., for example, the classification by Holt in the *Globe Chaucer* of 1898 [p. li] and the arrangement by Robinson [*Chaucer*, p. 1039]).

In view of the above-stated objections, Brusendorff's theory of the origin of "Pepys-Caxton" can hardly be considered tenable. When he comes to discuss the *Truth* texts in detail, he omits Pepys 2006 but writes this surprising footnote: "Of the text in Pepys I have unfortunately no notes" (p. 245, fn. 2).

- Peyn the not ech croked to redresse  
 In trust of here þat turneth as a ball  
 [10] Grete reste stant in lytell besynesse  
 Be ware also to spern ageyn a all  
 Stryue not as doth a crokke with a wall  
 Daunte [þi self] þat dauntest oþer dede  
 And trouthe the shall delyuer it is no drede  
 [p. 390]  
 [15] That the is sente receyue in boxomnesse  
 The wrastelinge of this wolrd axeth a fall  
 Here nys non hom here nysbut wildernesse  
 fforth pilgrym forth beste out of thi stall  
 Loke vp an hy and thanke god of all  
 [20] Weyue thin luste and lat thi goste the lede  
 And trouth the shall delyuer it is no drede

## Notes

5. *than bi houē*] MS. omits *the* (Cambridge University Library KK. 1. 5 quoted), writes *than* with a superscript *a* over *n*. Perhaps the parent read *than thu* (as in Phillipps 8299). Since minuscule *n* and *u* are indistinguishable in Pepys 2006, the only difference between *than* and *thu* is the superscript *a* over the *n*.  
 13. *þi self*] written in the margin in what looks like the same hand, with the position in the line indicated by a caret.  
 16. *wolrd*] so MS.

III. *Lak of Stedfastnesse*. MS. 432, Trinity College, Dublin, f. 59<sup>a</sup>.<sup>10</sup> Middle Fifteenth Century. Classification: Uncertain. This copy omits the first stanza and reads the remainder in reverse order, beginning with the envoy. The text, which is generally bad, seems clearly to have been written from memory; the scribe may well have been familiar with more than one version of the poem. Although the classification of this text is uncertain, it appears to belong with the group Harley 7333, Hatton 73, Lambeth Palace Library 344, and Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 20, with possible contamination—presumably memorial—with Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 14. 51.

## [Envoy]

- \*\*\*\*\*es that desyre to be honorable  
 \*\*erisshe ye your folk hate extorcioun  
 Suffer no thing þat may be repreuable  
 To your astate wher ye haue correctioun  
 [5] Shawe forthe your yerde of castigacion  
 Drede god . do lawe . love trowthe & worþines  
 & knyht to gydre your peple with stedfastnes  
 [Stanza 3]

<sup>10</sup> The MS. is described by T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1900), p. 67.

- Troupe is rebuked & reson is hold but fable  
 So vertu hathe now no dominatioun  
 [10] Pety is exciled . no man is merciabile  
 Thorow couetise is blent discretioun  
 Pe world hathe made a permutacioun  
 ffrom right to wrong . from troupe to fikelnes  
 Pat all is lost for lak of stedfastnes  
 [Stanza 2]  
 [15] What causeþ this world to be so variable  
 But lust þat folk haue in discencion  
 ffor now on dayes a man is holde onable  
 But he can com be sum ymaginacioun  
 To do his neyghbor wrong . or oppressioun  
 [20] What causeþ this . but sotel dowblenes  
 Pat all is lost for lak of stedfastnes

## Notes

1. \*\*\*\*\*es] illegible; perhaps MS. read *Princes*.
2. \*\*erisshe] illegible, but undoubtedly *Cherisshe*.

IV. *The Complaint of Chaucer to His Purse* (last stanza and envoy). MS. 176, Caius College, Cambridge, p. 12.<sup>11</sup> Late Fifteenth Century. Classification: Immediately below Additional 22139, British Museum, and immediately above Caxton's print and Pepys 2006 in the group composed of those authorities.<sup>12</sup>

- [15] Now purse that be to me my lyvys Light  
 And saueour as in this worde downe here  
 Of lich this toune helpe me throuze your myzt  
 Sith that ye wilnot be my tresour  
 For I am shae as nyghe as any frere  
 [20] But yet I pray vnto you curteously  
 Be hevy agayne or els most I dye  
 [In margin the word lenvoye]  
 O conquerour of Brutus Albion  
 Which that by lyne & fre elecion  
 Be verrey kynge this to you I sende

<sup>11</sup> See fn. 2 above.

<sup>12</sup> The copy on p. 12 (CC<sup>1</sup>) is in a hand similar to that of the copy on p. 23 (CC<sup>2</sup>) but not the same. The two texts are also of different provenance. In this connection one should note that Dr. C. F. Bühler, in his classification of the *Purse* MSS (*MLN*, LII [1937], 7), considers CC<sup>2</sup> a sister of Pepys 2006 and Additional 22139 on the basis of their common omission of *yf* in l. 4. He omits Caxton's print; when that text and all the variant readings are considered, his argument is not convincing. I place CC<sup>2</sup> more as in Robinson (*Chaucer*, p. 1039).

- [25] And you that may all my mys amend  
 Haue mynde opon my supplicacon.

## Notes

16. worde] error for worlde (Additional 22139 quoted). This error as well as the error *tresour* (for *tresorere*) in l. 18 is shared by the Stow edition of 1561. Since the Stow text is a copy of the undated (1545?) Thynne edition, which reads *tresoure* but correctly *worlde*, the agreement with CC<sup>1</sup> seems nonsignificant.
17. Of lich] although apparently meaningless, clearly the reading of the MS.
19. Shae] error for *shaue* (Add. 22139 quoted).
25. all my mys] the variants here are as follows: *alle harmes* (Caxton, Pepys 2006), *alle meyn harme* (Fairfax 16), *all oure harmes* (Harley 7333, Cambridge University Library Ff. l. 6); the remaining MSS lack the envoy. CC's reading perhaps derives from a spelling *all har mys*; in the non-book hands of the period, *har* and *my* do not look unlike.

With the printing of these texts, there remain unpublished only four manuscripts of Chaucer's Short Poems. One of these is now the subject of study;<sup>13</sup> the most significant readings of the second and third can be found in Robinson's notes;<sup>14</sup> but the fourth, a casualty of the war, seems lost for some time if not for ever.<sup>15</sup> Of the nature of its text nothing is known.

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<sup>13</sup> The Cambridge University Library Gg. 4. 27 (b) MS. of *Gentillesse*.

<sup>14</sup> The Leyden University Library Vossius 9 MS. of *Truth* and *Fortune*. These two texts were transcribed by Professor Robinson, but the transcription has been lost (letter from Professor Robinson dated Sept. 26, 1940). I have long had a standing order for photostats of these texts.

<sup>15</sup> The Phillipps 11409, Cheltenham, MS. of *Truth*. The existence of this copy of *Truth* is somewhat doubtful. Brown (*Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, No. 515) lists the MS. for *Truth* with a question mark. The Brown-Robbins *Index* simply repeats the entry of the *Register*. Furnivall (*Parallel Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, p. 407) writes thus: "Besides the above [various copies of *Truth*], there are late paper copies in the Bedford Library MS. [the Additional 36983 printed here], and the Phillips (Cheltenham) 11409." There seems no particular reason to doubt this statement. Perhaps the circumstances that prevented the publication of Additional 36983, whatever they may have been, also prevented the publication of Phillipps 11409.

In response to a request made for me by Mr. Francis Berkeley of the Alderman Library, Mrs. Alan Fenwick of Cheltenham states (Dec. 12, 1946) that the library, now the property of her husband, was partly stowed away during the war, and that for the time being, at least, nothing can be told about MS. Phillipps 11409.



# GUY DE MAUPASSANT AND LOUIS LE POITTEVIN

Maupassant's violent opposition to the publication of anything relating to his personal affairs is well known. Perhaps the most effective expression of his sentiments on that score is contained in the letter written to an unidentified correspondent in which he stated:

J'ajoute que je me suis toujours refusé à fournir des renseignements sur moi pour être publiés. Tout ce que j'écris appartient au public, aux critiques, à la discussion et à la curiosité; mais je désire que tout ce qui touche ma vie et ma personne ne donne lieu à aucune divulgation. . . .<sup>1</sup>

This policy, stubbornly adhered to by Maupassant particularly during the last few years of his life, was jealously continued for ten years following the writer's death by his mother,<sup>2</sup> Mme Laure de Maupassant, who destroyed many documents which might have helped us to understand somewhat better the complex personality of her famous son. Some of Maupassant's friends, too, faithful to his intransigent views on the matter, refused to allow for publication letters they had received from the author of *Boule de Suif*. Dr. Henri Cazalis, his friend and physician, answered in part as follows Lumbroso's request for material on Maupassant:

Quant à ses lettres, il m'avait exprimé toujours le désir qu'elles ne fussent jamais publiées; celles que j'ai eues de lui, je les ai détruites en partie pour me conformer à sa volonté.<sup>3</sup>

The result is that nearly fifty years after the death of Maupassant much of his life and literary career still remains unknown or obscure. Existing biographies, for example, only casually mention the name of Louis Le Poittevin in connection with Maupassant.<sup>4</sup> Yet Le Poittevin was one of Guy's closest friends, and while he did not exert on Maupassant the sort of influence exerted by his father,

<sup>1</sup> *Chroniques, études, correspondance de Guy de Maupassant*, Paris, Librairie Gründ, 1938, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Until her own death in 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Lumbroso, Albert, *Souvenirs sur Maupassant*, Rome, Bocca Frères, 1905, p. 586. Forty-four letters by Maupassant to Dr. Cazalis (the poet Jean Lahor) were sold at the Suzannet sale in 1938 (lot 164).

<sup>4</sup> Cf., among others, René Dumesnil's outstanding work, *Guy de Maupassant*, Paris, Tallandier, 1947.

Alfred Le Poittevin, on Flaubert, their relationship deserves considerably more attention than it has hitherto received at the hands of Maupassant scholars. The two letters given below,<sup>5</sup> published for the first time, constitute the earliest evidence of a friendship which was to last for twenty-five years, until Maupassant's death in 1893.

Louis Le Poittevin was the son of Alfred and Louise Le Poittevin. Louise Le Poittevin (*née de Maupassant*) was a sister of Guy's father, Gustave de Maupassant, who had married Alfred's sister, Laure Le Poittevin, the same year that Alfred married Gustave's sister, in 1846. Louis was born on May 22, 1847,<sup>6</sup> at La Neuville-Champ-d'Oisel (Seine-Inférieure). His father's death in 1848 ended the closest possible friendship with Gustave Flaubert, whose affection for Alfred's nephew, Guy, was considerably enhanced by the young man's striking resemblance to his uncle.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the family ties indicated above, the fact that both Guy and Louis were intensely interested in letters and were themselves writing poetry very naturally brought the two young men closer together. Louis eventually abandoned law altogether and devoted himself exclusively to painting, a field in which he at-

<sup>5</sup> From the present writer's collection, in a group of Maupassant letters originally in the collection of the famous bibliophile, Jules Le Petit. These letters constituted lot 2143 in the Le Petit sale of 1918, described as followed in the sale catalogue:

"Correspondance de Guy de Maupassant avec M. et Mme Louis Le Poittevin, réunion de trente-trois lettres et billets autographes signés de Guy de Maupassant."

"Correspondance amicale renfermant de nombreux renseignements intéressants sur Guy de Maupassant, sur son frère, la succession de son père et de sa mère, ses divers déplacements à Etretat, dans le midi de la France et en Italie."

"On y a joint une intéressante lettre de Louis Le Poittevin à Maupassant."

These letters were later acquired by the well-known Paris dealer, Pierre Berès, from whom they were subsequently acquired by the present writer.

<sup>6</sup> *La Grande Encyclopédie* erroneously gives the date as May 21, 1852. Cf. Dumesnil, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> About this resemblance Flaubert wrote to Guy's mother, in the following terms: "Ton fils me rappelle tant mon pauvre Alfred! J'en suis même parfois effrayé, surtout lorsqu'il baisse la tête, en récitant des vers!" (Quoted by Maynial, E., *La Vie et l'œuvre de Guy de Maupassant*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1906, p. 30).

tained prominence as a landscape artist. When, in 1884, he had an attractive house built on the rue Montchanin, near aristocratic Place Malesherbes, Maupassant moved into the ground-floor apartment and remained there for nearly six years.

# GUY DE MAUPASSANT TO LOUIS LE POITTEVIN

Etretat,\* ce dimanche [April, 1868] \*

Cher Cousin,

Je profite de mes quelques jours de vacances pour t'écrire, car il y a tant de temps que nous ne nous sommes pas vus, que tu ne dois pas savoir si je suis mort ou vivant; d'un autre côté j'ai perdu beaucoup de temps les années dernières, de sorte que je n'ai pas une minute à moi à Yvetot;<sup>10</sup> il faut travailler sans cesse si je veux réussir à mes examens, et je dois attendre les quelques moments de repos que me donnent les vacances pour écrire à ceux qui me sont chers. Il y a vraiment une sorte de fatalité qui nous empêche de nous voir. Quand j'ai été à Rouen à la fin des grandes vacances dernières, tu n'y étais pas; et lorsque ma mère et ma tante vous ont vus à La Neuville j'étais enfermé dans mon cloître d'Yvetot. Je ne sais si tu connais cette baraque, couvent triste où règnent les curés, l'hypocrisie, l'ennui, etc., etc., et d'où s'exhale une odeur de soutane qui se répand dans toute la ville d'Yvetot et qu'on garde malgré soi les premiers jours de vacances; pour m'en débarrasser je viens de lire un ouvrage de J. J. Rousseau. Je ne connaissais pas la Nouvelle Héloïse et ce livre m'a servi en même temps de désinfectant et de pieuse lecture pour la semaine sainte.

Je ne sais si tu as appris que notre cousin Marcel Le Poittevin<sup>11</sup> de Cherbourg arrive ici mardi, avec sa femme et ses enfants, pour passer quelques jours avec nous. Je me promets bien de le mener bon gré mal gré dans les falaises pour lui faire connaître les environs, car je suis seul et cela m'ennuie de faire des excursions sans compagnons. Pourquoi donc ne viens-tu pas nous voir, je te mènerais dans des vallées et des bois inconnus aux profanes, auprès des sources qui jaillissent de nos grands rochers, et là, en présence de la belle nature, tu pourrais faire quelque jolie pièce de vers.

\* On the Normandy coast, where the Maupassants owned a villa, "Les Verguies."

\* In the most extensive published collection of Maupassant letters (cf. note 1, above), there is but one letter written by Maupassant before 1870.

<sup>10</sup> Disliking Yvetot, Guy managed to be absent as frequently as possible, sometimes pretending illness, and at least once contriving to get himself dismissed for infraction of school rules. On March 16, 1866, his mother wrote Flaubert, "... il ne se plaisait guère là-bas; l'austérité de cette vie de cloître allait mal à sa nature impressionnable et fine, et le pauvre enfant étouffait derrière ces hautes murailles qui ne laissaient arriver aucun bruit du dehors." (*Op. cit.* in note 1 above, p. 430).

<sup>11</sup> Son of Eugène Le Poittevin?

Je sais que tu n'as pas besoin de cela pour faire de beaux vers, mais je t'assure que ces spectacles t'en inspireraient de plus beaux encore, et j'aurais du moins quelqu'un avec qui me promener.

Avant de finir ma lettre j'ai une demande à t'adresser; et j'espère que tu ne refuseras pas. On vient de me donner un album où je mets les photographies de mes parents et de mes amis, et à ce double titre je désire y mettre la tienne et celle d'Armand<sup>12</sup> aussi. Je vous prie de bien vouloir me les envoyer; ma mère me charge de demander celle de ma tante Louise.<sup>13</sup> Adieu, cher Louis, ma mère et mon frère<sup>14</sup> se joignent à moi pour t'embrasser ainsi qu'Armand et ta mère. Nous serrons affectueusement la main à mon oncle.<sup>15</sup>

Guy de Maupassant

LOUIS LE POITTEVIN TO GUY DE MAUPASSANT

La Neuville, ce 16 avril, 1868

Mon cher Guy,

Ta lettre m'a rendu bien heureux; cette marque d'amitié que tu me témoignes me fait assez voir que ton cœur ne connaît point l'absence et que malgré la distance qui nous sépare il ne craint pas de venir quelquefois faire comprendre aux habitants de La Neuville qu'il ne les oublie pas.

Il y a, comme tu le dis, bien longtemps que nous ne nous sommes vus, et cela m'est d'autant plus pénible que nous sommes unis par le sang et par l'amitié, que nos goûts semblent les mêmes et que nos caractères fraterniseraient indubitablement. Je ne puis penser sans une sorte de serrement de cœur que nous pourrions nous rencontrer dans une rue et, peut-être, ne pas nous reconnaître, car tu dois avoir bien grandi et par conséquent avoir changé depuis que nous nous sommes trouvés ensemble à Bornambusc. Une sorte de fatalité, dis-tu dans ta lettre, nous écarte, nous sépare l'un de l'autre. Eh bien, tu sais quelle elle est, cette fatalité. Réfléchis, tu la connaîtras comme moi. D'un côté tu trouveras le cloître et de l'autre la faculté de droit.

<sup>12</sup> Armand Cord'homme, step-brother of Louis.

<sup>13</sup> Mother of Louis.

<sup>14</sup> Hervé de Maupassant, six years younger than Guy.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Cord'homme, whom Louise Le Poittevin had married after the death of her first husband, Alfred Le Poittevin. Charles Cord'homme inspired the unforgettable Cornudet in *Boule de Suif*. A copy of the *Soirées de Médan*, where Maupassant's famous story first appeared, was inscribed by Maupassant as follows:

A mon aimable cousine,  
Lucie Le Poittevin et à mon cher cousin,  
beau-fils de Cornudet lui-même  
Leur bien dévoué

Guy de Maupassant

The above copy of *Les Soirées de Médan* was sold at the Suzannet sale in 1938 (No. 12). Lucie was Louis' wife.

Voilà les deux seuls obstacles à notre réunion; sans eux nous pourrions nous serrer plus souvent la main, gravir les rochers escarpés d'Étretat ou marcher au fond des bois de La Neuville, causer, rire, chanter, faire des vers ensemble, passe-temps délicieux et remède sans pareil contre l'ennui et la fatigue que cause le droit à l'esprit.

Tu sentiras aussi, j'en suis sûr, tout le positif de cette science, toute son aridité, quand, après avoir terminé tes études littéraires, tu te mettras à cultiver le *code*. Ton esprit passionné pour les lettres ne se courbera pas en un jour à ce travail.<sup>10</sup> J'ai senti bien souvent pendant des mois entiers le mien prêt à se révolter et je ne sais véritablement pas comment j'ai continué une étude qui était si en désaccord avec mon caractère. La poésie en effet cherche les illusions, et il n'y a rien de moins propre à en procurer que les recueils de jurisprudence.

Je te prie toutefois de ne pas prendre entièrement à la lettre tout ce que je te dis à ce sujet; il y a longtemps que mon cœur est loin d'affectionner cette étude et il a probablement été un peu loin dans son effusion.

Il est trop certain que nous ne pourrions nous voir encore cette année; tu vas rentrer dans ton cloître, moi dans mon *corpus juris civilis* et le temps se passera sans nous voir réunis.

Enfin, j'espère être plus heureux l'an prochain; d'un côté mon droit sera terminé, de l'autre tes examens de baccalauréat seront passés, et ces deux obstacles disparaissant nous célébrerons par une pièce de vers le jour qui nous verra la main dans la main.

Tu me demandes ma photographie, cher cousin; je ne l'ai pas, sans quoi tu n'aurais pas été obligé de me la demander, allant au devant de tes désirs je te l'aurais envoyée depuis longtemps. Aussitôt que j'en posséderai de nouvelles, tu en recevras une; quant à mon frère, il en a je crois encore et il t'en fera parvenir une—ma mère aussi ne vous oubliera pas.

Tout à toi,

Le Poittevin

This moving exchange of letters, containing as it does the only personal glimpse we have of Maupassant between the ages of fourteen and twenty, also clarifies an important point in the author's biography. The exact years of his stay at the "cloître d'Yvetot," and his subsequent studies in Rouen have been heretofore in a maze of obscurity, the result of conflicting circumstantial evidence.

Ironically enough, the confusion was probably started quite unintentionally by Maupassant himself when he wrote, in his *Souvenirs sur Louis Bouilhet*, "J'avais seize ans . . . j'étais élève au collège de

<sup>10</sup> Maupassant's study of law was interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war. He continued it after the end of hostilities, but apparently did not complete his studies. His student identification-card for the year 1872-1873 at the "Faculté de Droit de Paris" is in the present writer's Maupassant collection.

Rouen en ce temps-là. . . ."<sup>17</sup> Since Maupassant was born on August 5, 1850, his statement was naturally interpreted to mean that he was studying in Rouen in 1866. And that inference was strengthened by the publication of a letter from Mme Laure de Maupassant to Gustave Flaubert, written on March 16, 1866, in which Guy's mother told her old friend:

Je viens d'être obligée de le retirer de la maison religieuse d'Yvetot, où l'on m'a refusé une dispense de maigre exigée par les médecins. . . . Je crois que je vais le mettre au lycée du Havre pour dix-huit mois et que j'irai ensuite m'établir à Paris pour les années de rhétorique et de philosophie.<sup>18</sup>

Presumably on the basis of the foregoing evidence, the leading French historian of Maupassant states, "... à la rentrée de 1867 il est à Rouen en rhétorique, l'année suivante en philosophie."<sup>19</sup>

The letters exchanged between Maupassant and Louis Le Poitevin in 1868, published now for the first time, clarify at last this important detail of Guy's school career. He was still at the "couvent triste" in the spring of 1868; he did not go to Rouen until the fall of 1868. He was therefore enrolled at Rouen for one year rather than two, as it has been believed heretofore. Maupassant's statement that he was in Rouen at the age of sixteen? Surely a lapse of memory (nearly twenty years after the event) or a slip of the pen. His mother's declaration that she had removed him from the "cloître d'Yvetot" in 1866? Maupassant must indeed have been removed from that school in the spring of 1866; but he must as certainly have been sent back somewhat later, according to official records available: there are two formal reports on Guy from the "Institution Ecclésiastique d'Yvetot" for the year 1886-1887, the second of which eloquently describes the seventeen-year old student as "toujours bon et agréable!"<sup>20</sup> Since a first report from the same institution, covering the school-year 1863-1864, is also available,<sup>21</sup> as well as the earliest known Maupassant letter, written on May 2, 1864, near the end of his first year at Yvetot,<sup>22</sup> the conclusion is inevitable that Maupassant spent, with an occasional prolonged absence, five years at that "couvent

<sup>17</sup> *Le Gaulois*, 4 décembre 1884.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, in note 1 above, p. 428.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, in note 1 above, p. 430.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, in note 4 above, p. 89.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.



triste," between 1863 and 1868, and that he spent only the year 1868-1869 at Rouen.<sup>23</sup>

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# FIRST PUBLICATION OF MAUPASSANT'S PAPA DE SIMON

The date of first publication of *Le Papa de Simon*, one of Maupassant's best stories, has hitherto eluded Maupassant historians, including the leading French authority of the author of *Boule de Suif*, who edited, between 1934 and 1938, the scholarly and beautiful edition of Maupassant's complete works. In the last volume of that edition (published by the Librairie Gründ, rather than by the Librairie de France, which had issued the previous fourteen volumes), M. René Dumesnil included an extremely useful table of Maupassant's works, "classés suivant l'ordre de leur composition et de leur publication."<sup>1</sup> *Le Papa de Simon* is listed in that table as first appearing in book form in 1881, in Maupassant's first volume of stories, *La Maison Tellier*, with a note to the effect that it had previously appeared in print. But nowhere in that list is it indicated when or where that famous story had originally been published.

<sup>23</sup> Francis Steegmuller, author of *Flaubert and Madame Bovary*, now at work on a study of Maupassant, wrote to the *lycée* of Rouen in an attempt to get at official records, but received no reply. A friend of Mr. Steegmuller's reported that the school had been occupied by the Germans and that its records were in disorder. The same friend discovered a hitherto unknown article on Maupassant published by Georges Dubosc in the August, 1893, number of "La Normandie," which contains the following interesting information:

"En octobre 1868, il entre au Lycée de Rouen, y fait sa philosophie de 1868 à 1869. En juillet 1869, il obtient son Baccalauréat (avec la mention: passable) et obtient lors de la distribution des prix les récompenses suivantes:

dissertation française:	4e accesit
dissertation latine	do
version latine	do."

Unfortunately, M. Dubosc did not state the source of the above information. We are very much obliged to Mr. Steegmuller for communicating these details to us.

<sup>1</sup>Chroniques, études, correspondance de Guy de Maupassant, Paris, Librairie Gründ, 1938, pp. 441-457.

Ignorance of that important detail seems the more striking, since Maupassant's published correspondence contains two references to *Le Papa de Simon*. In a letter to Robert Pinchon, written in February, 1877, Maupassant wrote to his close friend, "*Le Papa de Simon* va paraître au mois de juin dans une revue bête."<sup>2</sup> Nearly two years later (December, 1878), in a letter to another friend, Léon Fontaine, he writes, "La revue qui a pour titre *La Réforme* me doit cinquante francs pour mon *Papa de Simon*."<sup>3</sup> However, the Maupassant student searching in the files of *La Réforme* for 1878, or 1877, is doomed to disappointment, for *Le Papa de Simon* does not appear in either of those two, or previous, volumes of that publication.

The following Maupassant letter in our collection, published now for the first time, led us to the solution of this bibliographic problem:

Paris, le 15 Xbre 1879

MINISTÈRE  
DE L'INSTRUCTION  
PUBLIQUE  
ET DES BEAUX-ARTS

—  
SECRÉTARIAT  
—

1<sup>er</sup> Bureau

Cher Monsieur,

M. Laissez m'ayant dit de venir vers le milieu du mois de Xbre pour toucher le montant de ma nouvelle publiée dans la *Réforme*, je me suis présenté hier à votre bureau, mais vous veniez de vous en aller.

Comme je vais m'absenter pendant les fêtes de Noël et du jour de l'An, j'ai l'intention d'aller vous demander, vendredi, vers cinq heures, de vouloir bien régler ce petit compte.

Merci pour le manuscrit que j'ai repris hier.

Croyez, je vous prie, cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments affectueux et dévoués.

Guy de Maupassant

An examination of *La Réforme* for the year 1879 revealed that *Le Papa de Simon* appeared in the December 1, 1879, number of that publication, pp. 166-173.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

## A HUGO "PASTICHE"

In the process of gathering material for a study of the personal and literary relations of Victor Hugo and Auguste Vacquerie, I have come upon an article by one Arthur de Gravillon entitled "Hugo et Vacquerie: Pardonnez-Nous!"<sup>1</sup> which, so far as I have been able to determine, has escaped the attention of Hugolians. A foot-note to the article, obviously written by one of the editors of the *Revue*, tells us: "Nous recevons et nous publions avec empressement le récit d'une charmante mystification faite par deux de nos collaborateurs, M. l'abbé Dauphin et M. Arthur de Gravillon, aux dépens de deux gloires de différentes grandeurs, Mm. Hugo et Vacquerie. Quand on pastiche aussi complètement les grands écrivains, c'est qu'on est de leur famille." The article, written "sous l'invocation de mon ami Alfred Busquet," relates a trip taken by Gravillon and the abbé Dauphin to "la vallée du Lys" near Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrenees. At the bottom of this valley are two cascades known as "le Cœur" and "l'Enfer." In a nearby inn there was a register in which visitors wrote their impressions, serious or facetious. The abbé Dauphin composed a sixteen-line poem, in the style of Hugo, on the grandeur of the site; Gravillon copied the poem into the register and signed Hugo's name. Then the abbé wrote in it the following quatrain, to which he signed the name of Auguste Vacquerie:

Dans ce temple, ô poète, ô sublime grand-prêtre,  
Près de toi, moi chétif, à quel titre paraître?  
Tu l'exiges!—Eh bien, je réclame l'honneur  
D'agiter l'encensoir comme un enfant de chœur.

Twenty years later Gravillon re-visited this spot, in the company of his wife. He asked for the register at the inn, and looked in vain for the two poems. He was then told by the inn-keeper that the poems had brought him both money and honor and would have made a very wealthy man of him had they not been stolen by an Englishman who had offered twenty guineas for them and been refused. The inn-keeper, believing the poems to be authentic, had copied them from the register, and many other copies had been made

<sup>1</sup> *Revue du Lyonnais, recueil historique et littéraire, troisième série, XI* (Lyon, 1871), 171-179.

before their disappearance. Worried lest Hugo and Vacquerie discover the counterfeits, Gravillon asked Alfred Busquet, who had introduced him into the Hugo home in Paris while the poet was in exile, to intercede on his behalf. Recalling with pleasure the evening he had spent in the company of Charles Hugo and Auguste Vacquerie, he closes his article with the words: "Allons! saint Alfred, priez pour nous, et vous, divins Hugo et Vacquerie, pardonnez-nous!"

The Hugo "pastiche," written into the register of the inn in the "vallée du Lys," runs as follows:

O pics, clochers du monde où sonne la tempête,  
Cadrans d'où l'avalanche à toute heure mugit;  
Devant qui l'homme à peine ose lever la tête  
Tant Dieu lui paraît grand, tant il se semble petit.

O rocs, après sommets, vieux autels de granit  
D'où le nuage fume, encens de notre terre!  
Vieille abside où se chante en chœur le grand mystère,  
Abords d'un autre monde où le nôtre finit!  
Vieux torrents qui sifflez dans vos tuyaux de pierre,  
Vieux lichens qui des trones comme un lustre pendez;  
Vieux lézards des rochers qui, pensifs, entendez  
Les bruits d'eau, voix de Dieu, qui tombent de la cime;  
Vieux glaciers qui là-haut reluisez au soleil  
Comme sur les gradins luit le flambeau vermeil!  
Vous formez un grand temple où mon esprit s'abîme  
Et sent de l'infini l'extatique sommeil.

AARON SCHAFER

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#### AN UNSIGNED ARTICLE BY CHATEAUBRIAND

The Indian ruins or mounds on the Ohio River apparently interested Chateaubriand very much. He spoke of them in detail in the *Génie du Christianisme*<sup>1</sup> and in the *Voyage en Amérique*.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> See Part One, Book Four, Chapter Two of the *Génie du Christianisme* and especially Note VIII in the back of the book. In the first edition of the *Génie*, this is note F.

<sup>2</sup> See the chapter entitled "Journal sans date" of the *Voyage en Amérique*. There is also a reference to Indian mounds in the next chapter.

both *Les Martyrs*<sup>3</sup> and in *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*<sup>4</sup> he compared the pyramids of Egypt to the Indian mounds of Ohio.

It will be of interest to Chateaubriand scholars to know that the first appearance of this theme occurs in an unsigned article by Chateaubriand in the *Mercure de France* of October 8, 1801.

A letter written by Chateaubriand to Fontanes and dated October 2, 1801 begins as follows:

Vous voyez mon cher ami, mon empressement à vous servir. Je vous envoie mes ruines de l'Ohio et je leur mets un titre qui les présente *comme un simple extrait de l'œuvre de M. de Crèveœur*. J'en ai retranché toutes les réflexions et n'ai laissé que la matière sèche. Signez le tout d'une *lettre* quelconque et tout ira bien.<sup>5</sup>

The article which appeared six days later in *Mercure de France* bore the title: *Discussion historique sur les ruines trouvées au bord de l'Ohio dans l'Amérique septentrionale, et dont il est parlé dans le Voyage en Pensylvanie de M. de Crèveœur*.<sup>6</sup> It was signed "Un Canadien."

There can be no doubt that this article is by Chateaubriand especially since he repeated the material almost word for word in the *Génie du Christianisme* which was published only a few months later.

The original version differs from the material in the *Génie du Christianisme* only in very minor details except for one place where there is a change of content. This change occurred when Chateaubriand was trying to explain the approximate date of the existence of the people who created the Indians mounds:

Nous avons vu sur ces ruines un chêne décrépît, qui avait poussé sur les débris d'un autre chêne tombé à ses pieds, et dont il ne restait plus que l'écorce; celui-ci à son tour s'était élevé sur un troisième. L'emplacement du dernier se marquait encore par l'intersection de deux cercles, d'un aubier rouge et pétrifié, qu'on découvrait à fleur-de-terre, en écartant un épais

<sup>3</sup> See note 29 of Chapter XI of *Les Martyrs*.

<sup>4</sup> See Book VI of *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*. In the critical edition by Emile Malakis, published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1946, it is on pages 223 and 224 of Vol. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Correspondance Générale de Chateaubriand* par Louis Thomas, Champion, Paris, 1912, I, 57. The italics in the quotation are in the original letter.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'Etat de New York* by Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crèveœur published by Maradan, Paris, 1801.

humus composé de feuilles et de mousse. Accordez seulement deux siècles de vie à ces trois chênes successifs, et voilà une époque de six cents années, que la nature a gravée sur ces ruines.

The author must have felt that six hundred years was not long enough because he changed this passage in the *Génie du Christianisme* to read as follows:

Nous avons vu sur ces ruines un chêne décrépît qui avait poussé sur les débris d'un autre chêne tombé à ses pieds, et dont il ne restait plus que l'écorce; celui-ci à son tour s'était élevé sur un troisième et ce troisième sur un quatrième. L'emplacement des deux derniers se marquait encore par l'intersection de deux cercles d'un aubier rouge et pétrifié, qu'on découvrait à fleur de terre, en écartant un épais humus composé de feuilles et de mousses. Accordez seulement trois siècles de vie à ces quatre chênes successifs, et voilà une époque de douze cents années que la nature a gravée sur ces ruines.

A study of Crèveœur's book reveals the fact that Chateaubriand did not take all his material on Indian mounds from that book, but the *Voyage en Pensylvanie* may be considered as a minor source of Chateaubriand material and the article in the *Mercur de France* the first appearance of material on Indian mounds.

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#### ALCESTE AND JOAN OF KENT

In a recent article, "Chaucer's Hopeless Love,"<sup>1</sup> Miss Margaret Galway has attempted to bolster her previously-proposed identification of Alceste in *The Legend of Good Women* with Joan, Princess of Wales, Richard II's mother. In an earlier article, "Chaucer's Sovereign Lady,"<sup>2</sup> Miss Galway presented in considerable detail arguments for identifying Alceste with Joan, primarily on the basis of an interpretation of Alceste's speech to the God of Love (F 342-413) in the light of Richard's strained relations with his half-brother, John Holland, another of Joan's sons, in the summer of 1385. More recently, however, Miss Galway has abandoned this interpretation and has attempted to relate Alceste's speech to

<sup>1</sup> In *MLN*, 60 (1945), 431-39.

<sup>2</sup> In *MLR*, 33 (1938), 145-99.



accounts in contemporary chronicles of Joan's intervention in affairs of state in 1385, pointing out correctly that proof of her assertion would do much to support her other Joan identifications. I propose in this article to present for closer examination the passages in the chronicles cited by Miss Galway upon which she has based her identification.

In order to consider the validity of her assertion it is necessary to review briefly Alceste's speech in the passage referred to. It can be divided, for analysis, into five paragraphs:

(1) A god ought to be gracious and merciful and ought to beware of flatterers and false accusers of which his court is always full, men who out of envy will do others harm. Such men are always in the house of Cesar. (345-61)

(2) A good lord weighs each case; he is not "lik tirauntz of Lumbardy"; but a natural king, that is, one by right, is considerate of his lieges, who represent "gold in cofre." (373-83)

(3) A god is respectful of his lords' positions and honors them as half-gods. (384-7)

(4) But he is considerate as well of the poor of lower degrees and does not wreak harsh justice simply because he is strong; he weighs each case and rewards and punishes justly. (388-99)

(5) A god ought to accept a man's apology, considering not only the culprit's crime but his position as well, remembering that the man has served him faithfully. (400-13)

The temptation to read into these lines some contemporary significance, especially in the light of their applicability to Richard II's tempestuous relations with the nobles of his realm, particularly with his royal uncles, is strong, but Miss Galway's assertion that the passage is derived from a speech Joan delivered to Richard at a time when his relations with his uncles were approaching open civil war does not appear to be supported by the evidence.

In tracing Alceste's speech to the God of Love to an incident in Joan's life recorded in certain of the chronicles, Miss Galway has stated very positively: "Enough of her historic speech on that occasion is preserved in contemporary chronicles, and has now been found to show that it is Alceste's speech on a king's duties, to discountenance flatterers; to deal justly with his lieges; and to give due respect to the nobles nearest to him in status and kinship, and so on, every word speaking to the point to which Joan had spoken."<sup>3</sup> Miss Galway did not support her contention with quotations from

<sup>3</sup> Galway, *MLN*, 60 (1945), 435.

these chronicles, but she cited Malverne's supplement to the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, (Rolls Series), IX, 55-8; the *Historia Anglicana*, (Rolls Series), II, 112-26; and the *Chronicon Adae de Usk*. A study of these reveals, however, that none of them comes near to preserving Joan's speech; in the first two she is not quoted, and the third quotes one sentence, attribution of which to Joan is questionable. The pertinent passages are these:

1. From the *Polychronicon*:

Mater quidem regis de his certiorata nimio dolore et stupore turbata celeriter festinavit ad regem suadens ei semper discordias suorum nobilium evitare praesertim ducis Lancastriae et fratrum suorum qui patrui ei existunt. Igitur ad ejus suum vito die Martii venit Westmonasterium cum magna militum comitura. Mater regis confestim accessit ad ducem Lancastriae et ita cum inflexit quod eum ad regem adduxit, cujus etiam mediatione protinus sunt ad invicem concordati. Remisit etiam dux Lancastriae ad rogatum domini regis iracundiam suam quam erga quosdam dominos regi familiares gerebat. Et fuerunt hi comes Sarum, comes Oxoniae, comes Notyngham, aliique fuerunt quo nondum protulerunt ad eo protunc remissionis gratiam obtinere.<sup>4</sup>

(The king's mother, however, better informed in these matters, troubled by excessive grief and amazement, hastened to persuade the king that he ought always to avoid the quarrels of his nobles, especially those of the duke of Lancaster and his brother, who were his paternal uncles. Therefore, in order to persuade him, she came on the sixth day of March to Westminster accompanied by a large company of soldiers. The king's mother immediately approached the duke of Lancaster and so influenced him that he betook himself to the king, by whose mediation they were forthwith reconciled. Further, the duke of Lancaster remitted, at the entreaty of his lord, the king, his anger against certain lords who were friendly to the king; and these were the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Oxford, the earl of Nottingham; and there were others who were not able to obtain from him the favor of amnesty.)

2. From the *Historia Anglicana*:

Sed tantum discrimen regni ferre non sustenens Domina Johanna, mater Regis, quamvis tera foret et delicata, et, prae corporis sui sagina, semetipsam vix portare valeret, neglecta tamen corporis sui quietudine, laboriosum iter, nunc ad Regem, nunc ad Ducem, gratis assumpsit, nihil parcens expensis, nihil humilibus precibus, donec, voti compos effecta, inter eosdem pacem et concordiam reformasset.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Castrensis*, J. R. Lumby, ed., London, 1886, IX (Continuation of the *Polychronicon* by John Malverne), 58-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Thomae Walsingham, Historia Anglicana*, H. R. Riley, ed., London, 1864, II, 126.

(But Princess Joan, the mother of the king, unable to tolerate so great a division of sovereignty, although she was obese and ill, and because of the fatness of her body was scarcely able to support her own weight, nevertheless, heedless of her own physical comfort, voluntarily took upon herself the laborious journey, now to the king, now to the duke, sparing neither expense nor humble entreaty, until, the expression of a pledge having been effected, she re-established peace and harmony between them.)

3. From the *Chronicon Adae de Usk*:

Hearing this, our lady, the princess, the mother of the king, with heavy grief in her heart, and not sparing to toil on even by night, hastened from Wallingford to London, to allay the discord. And on her knees she prayed the king her son, as he looked for her blessing, in no wise to bend to the wishes of flatterers, and especially of those who were now urging him on; otherwise he would bring down her curse upon him. But the king with reverence raised her up and promised that he would willingly be guided by the counsel of the twelve. To whom his mother replied: "At thy coronation, my son, I rejoiced that it had fallen to my lot to be the mother of an anointed king; but now I grieve for I foresee the fall which threatens thee, the work of accursed flatterers." The king then passed with his mother to Westminster Hall, and there, seated on his throne of state, by her mediation, made his peace with the twelve guardians; yet did he it falsely and with deceit.<sup>6</sup>

If this single sentence quoted above is the "speech" which Miss Galway sees as the source of Alceste's lecture, and apparently it is this alone she referred to, her argument is weak indeed. And even weaker does it become when one recognizes that the passage in Usk's chronicle is highly suspicious and untrustworthy. For example, he dated this event in 1387, and Joan had died in August, 1385. In his account Usk confused several elements of incidents occurring at various times. And no other chronicler has preserved any such remarks as those attributed here to Joan.<sup>7</sup>

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## TWO CRUXES IN THE POETRY OF DONNE

Of the many cruxes in the poetry of Donne, two of the most difficult and widely disputed are the famous "specular stone" and the puzzling ending of *The Progresse of the Soule*. In the case of

<sup>6</sup> *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, A. D. 1377-1421, ed. with translation and notes by Sir E. M. Thompson, K. C. B., 2nd ed., London, 1904, 143-4. (Latin text, p. 5.)

<sup>7</sup> See Thompson's note on this passage, ed. cited, p. 144.

both of these difficult spots in Donne's poetry, the evidence presented by his sermons can be of considerable value in arriving at a correct understanding of his words.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the "specular stone," two relevant passages exist; the first, in *The undertaking*, is as follows:

It were but madnes now t'impart  
The skill of specular stone,  
When he which can have learn'd the art  
To cut it, can finde none.<sup>2</sup>

The second is less detailed, as he tells the Countess of Bedford, in a verse letter, that:

You teach (though wee learne not) a thing unknowne  
To our late times, the use of specular stone,  
Through which all things within without were shown.  
Of such were Temples; so and of such you are.<sup>3</sup>

Grierson, in a note on the passage in *The undertaking*, states his belief that Donne is here referring to the practice of crystal gazing, basing his argument upon the old name for crystal gazers, "specularii," and comes to the conclusion that it may be a reference to Dr. Dee's magic mirrors.<sup>4</sup> Norton, on the other hand, views the passage as an allusion to "various sorts of translucent stone, such as alabaster and mica."<sup>5</sup> That Norton, and not Grierson, is fundamentally correct was indicated in a recent article by Professor Don Cameron Allen,<sup>6</sup> and, as further proof, a passage from a sermon preached at Whitehall in 1627 reveals conclusively what Donne had in mind:

*The heathens* served their Gods in Temples, *sub dic*, without roofs or coverings, in a free opennesse, and, where they could, in Temples made of *Specular stone*, that was transparent as glasse, or crystall, so that they which walked without in the streets, might see all that was done within.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article is part of a larger study, now in progress, of the poems and sermons of Donne.

<sup>2</sup> *The Poems of John Donne*, edited by Herbert J. C. Grierson, 2 vols., Oxford, 1912, I, 10, ll. 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 219, ll. 28-31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> *The Poems of John Donne*, New York, 1895, I, 217-18.

<sup>6</sup> "Donne's Specular Stone," *MLN*, LXI (1946), 63-64.

<sup>7</sup> *Fifty Sermons*, 1649, No. 27, p. 230.

This passage certainly explains the line, "Through which all things within without were shown," and the reference to the temples in the letter to the Countess of Bedford, and it also clarifies, to a considerable extent, the allusion in *The undertaking*. References to the art of cutting the specular stone, as well as a more detailed explanation of its properties, are to be found in the Holland translation of Pliny, which may well have served Donne as the source of the passages in his poetry and prose already quoted. The passage, which follows, contains a marginal notation, *Specularis lapis*:

As touching Talc (which also goeth in the name of a stone) it is by nature much more easie to be cloven into as thin flakes as a man will. This kind of glasse stone, the hither part of Spaine onely in old time did afford us, and the same not all throughout, but within the compasse of a hundred miles, namely about the citie Sagobrica: but in these we have it from Cypros, Cappadocia, and Sicilie, and of late also it hath been found in Barbarie: howbeit, the best glasse-stone commeth from Spaine and Cappadocia, for it is the tendrest and carrieth largest pannels, although they do not altogether the clearest, but somewhat duskish. There be also of them in Italy about Bononia, but the same bee short and small, full of spots also and joyned to peeces of flint; and yet it seemeth that in nature they bee much like unto those that in Spaine be digged out of pits which they sinke to a great depth. . . . In the daies of Nero late Emperour there was found in Cappadocia a stone as hard as marble, white and transparent and shining through, yea even on that side where it hath certaine reddish streakes or spots; in which regard, (for that it is so resplendent) it hath found a name to be called Phengites: Of this stone, the said Emperour caused the temple of *Fortune* to be built called Seia, (which kind *Servius* had first dedicated) comprised within the compasse of *Neroes* golden house: and therefore when the doores stood open in the daie time, a man might see within, the day light, after the manner of glasse stones; yet so, as if all the light were within-forth onely, and not let in from the aire thorow the windowes.<sup>6</sup>

It is apparent that Donne has merely an imperfect recollection of this or some other similar passage. Thus he remembers certain salient details, such as the cutting of the stone, the fact that it was found in ancient times in certain places, and also that it was used in the building of temples, but he nowhere gives a clear and complete picture. Still, on the basis of his own words in the sermon already quoted, there can be no doubt as to what he meant by his "specular stone."

<sup>6</sup> *The Historie of the World, commonly called the Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, London, 1601, II, xxxvi-22-592.

The disputed passage in *The Progresse of the Soule* occurs at the close of the poem, as Donne states that,

Ther's nothing simply good, nor ill alone,  
Of every quality comparison,  
The onely measure is, and judge, opinion.<sup>9</sup>

This passage has usually been taken as an example of the extreme scepticism which attracted Donne so strongly during his youth; Bredvold especially makes much of it as an indication of Donne's early scepticism.<sup>10</sup> But a clue to a different interpretation is to be found in the use of the word "simply," in which Donne is obviously making the common distinction between simples and compounds, between that which is simple, complete, with no contrarities in its nature, and compounds, which are made up of these contrarities. Hence it is obvious that in this sense only God, who alone implies perfection, is good; all else, the good and evil of this world, is only relatively good or evil, of a mixed nature, partaking to a degree of both qualities. This interpretation is supported by a significant passage from a sermon preached at Whitehall, March 4, 1624/5:

Now this leads us into two rich and fragrant fields; this sets us upon two Hemispheres of the world; the Western Hemisphere, the land of Gold, and Treasure, and the Eastern Hemisphere, the land of Spices and Perfumes; for this puts us upon both these considerations, first, That nothing is Essentially good, but God . . . and then upon this consideration too, That this Essentiall goodnesse of God is so diffusive, so spreading, as that there is nothing in the world that doth not participate of that goodnesse. . . . So that now both these propositions are true, First, That there is nothing in this world good, and then this also, That there is nothing ill. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Thus Donne is in this sermon reinforcing the earlier passage in the poem with a direct statement of the reality of all good and evil in this world. And since man must thus be concerned with relative values, opinion is, he says, the proper faculty of judgment. For knowledge, according to Donne, concerns itself with certainties, with absolutes, while opinion, he says, "is a middle station, betweene ignorance and knowledge."<sup>12</sup> To say, therefore, that

<sup>9</sup> Grierson, *op. cit.*, I, 316, ll. 518-20.

<sup>10</sup> Vid. especially his article, "The Naturalism of Donne in Relation to Some Renaissance Traditions," *JEGP*, xii (1923), 471-502.

<sup>11</sup> LXXX *Sermons*, 1640, No. 17, p. 167.

<sup>12</sup> LXXX *Sermons*, 1640, No. 36, p. 354.



opinion is the only measure and judge is not necessarily to give voice to an extreme scepticism, as has usually been thought; opinion, Donne believes, is a useful and necessary state of mind in a world which is by its very nature necessarily relative, and hence here, as so often elsewhere, he expands and clarifies in his sermons a central passage of his earlier poetry.

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### NEW LIGHT ON THE NASHE-HARVEY QUARREL \*

An interesting piece of evidence which has been overlooked in all accounts of the Nashe-Harvey quarrel, appears in Richard Harvey's *Philadelphus* (1593).<sup>1</sup> This is a book written to defend the historical writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth against the attacks of Buchanan and others; but inserted between two sections of the book is an epistle "To his most loving brother, Master Gabriell Harvey, Doctor of Lawes," in which Richard Harvey takes occasion to refer to the attacks being made against him and his brother:

. . . I am not wedded to myselfe, nor tyed to any sect in the world, but heartily wish euery man to take euerie thing as it is, not as it is made of this and that scribler or pratler, which can tell better, howe to play the mocking Ape, then the iust controller. Almighty God defend you dayly, and amend them one day: You know my minde in all my matters, and that I would those petite Momes had better manners: the schollers head without moderation is like the merchantes purse pennillesse without all credite: I desire that euerie student may smell as the Lillies of Salomon, and that euerie wilde Lilly may be set in his Gardens. I saye, out Hemlocke, out Bramble, out Weedes, and let the bloud of furious *Aiax* himselfe, saith *Ouid*, be turned into a pleasant herbe. I write not this, to flatter any that should seeke after me, but to follow you, good Brother, in your *last Letters*, in whose example I euer yet dwelt, and am like to dwell, euen till my Soule shall dwell in the Commonwealth of Heauen. I cannot bid you farewell in a better minde, and in this respect I set me (sic) rest here, I remember your counsell, and beginne my *Essaye*. 1592. the 14. of Iune.

Your loving brother R. H.<sup>2</sup>

\* I am grateful to the trustees of the Folger Shakespeare Library for the grant of a research fellowship for 1947-8, which enabled me to work on this and other studies.

<sup>1</sup> For a full bibliographical account of this work, see Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910), v, 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Philadelphus*, Sig. Clr-Clv.

The most significant feature of this epistle is its date. It has heretofore been assumed that the quarrel between the Harveys and the Lily-Greene-Nashe group remained dormant during the period from the publication of Richard Harvey's *Lamb of God* in 1590, to the almost simultaneous publication of Greene's *Quip* and Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* in the late summer of 1592.<sup>3</sup> McKerrow, it is true, pointed out that "it is difficult to understand why they [i. e., the writers criticized by Richard Harvey in 1590] should have waited so long to answer Harvey's attack," and that "it is possible that there were intermediate links in the quarrel, of which we know nothing;"<sup>4</sup> but evidence to support this hypothesis was lacking. Such evidence is supplied by the Harvey epistle; the phrase, "Almightie God defend you dayly, and amend them one day," can hardly refer only to the three-year old attack on Gabriel in Lyly's *Pap with a Hatchet* (1589), but almost certainly indicates that the quarrel was very much alive in the early part of 1592 at least.

The epistle is significant in still another respect. It demonstrates that the Harveys had decided, as a deliberate policy, to ignore the attacks made upon them. Whatever the nature of Gabriel's "last letters" was,<sup>5</sup> they evidently counselled moderation and forbearance. And that Richard was determined to follow his brother's example and advice is even more remarkable in view of the fact that he had already seen Nashe's scurrilous attack upon him in *Pierce Penilesse*. For there can be no doubt, coupled as it is with the obvious pun on Lily's name, that "the schollers head without moderation is like the merchant's purse pennilesse without all credite," is meant as a reference to Nashe and, more specifically, to *Pierce Penilesse*.<sup>6</sup>

That Richard Harvey, stung as he must have been by Nashe's attack, found it impossible to refrain altogether from launching a counter-attack, is shown by another hitherto-unnoticed passage in

<sup>3</sup> Greene's work was entered in the Stationers Register on July 21 (Arber, *Transcript*, II. 617), and Nashe's on August 8 (*ibid.*, II. 619).

<sup>4</sup> *Nashe*, v, 77, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> They certainly cannot be the *Four Letters* of 1592, the earliest one of which is dated August 29. In all probability, they were private letters which Gabriel may have intended to publish, before the appearance of Greene's *Quip* caused him to change his attitude toward his attackers.

<sup>6</sup> Either *Pierce Penilesse* was published before the date of its S. R. entry, a not uncommon thing, or Harvey read it in manuscript. The phrase, "saith Ouid," may be an echo of the identical phrase in Nashe's attack on Harvey in *Pierce Penilesse* (see *Nashe*, I, 197, l. 18).

*Philadelphus*. In the course of an attack upon the "Saxons" who have attempted to supplant his beloved "Brutans," Harvey declares:

An ape must not come among Churchmen, Serpentes must not dwell in chambers of Counsell, makebates are not in case to cōurse in the dwellings of peaceable Lords, who can abide, to have a deformed mocker with hys distorted mouthes, a venomous hisser with his noysom breath, a rayling stage-player with his trifling actions for his companion?<sup>7</sup>

This is probably, from the nature of its language, a reference to Nashe, though it may be a curiously belated attack on the anti-Marprelate writers as a group. If we accept McKerrow's cogently reasoned argument that Nashe was with Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon during the late summer and autumn of 1592, and was then engaged in the composition of *Summer's Last Will and Testament*,<sup>8</sup> then the probability that this passage is directed at Nashe becomes a very strong one.

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#### YOUNG FRANCIS BACON'S TUTOR

Some years after the magnificent work of James Spedding had been completed, John Nichol was still compelled to remark that "The first twenty years of Bacon's life are nearly a blank to us."<sup>1</sup> The statement is still true, for almost nothing has been added since that time to relieve the blankness. It is of some interest, therefore, that we are now able to identify without question the man who was perhaps the first tutor of Anthony and Francis Bacon, or who, at any rate, served in that office several years prior to 1573, when the two boys went up to Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> It apparently

<sup>7</sup> *Philadelphus*, Sig. N3r.

<sup>8</sup> *Nashe*, v, 19-21.

<sup>1</sup> *Francis Bacon, His Life and Philosophy*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1888), I, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Recent attempts to penetrate the mystery of Bacon's early education have been made by R. L. Eagle, who conjectures that Sir Anthony Cooke may have been Bacon's tutor (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 23, 1946, p. 577), and by S. G. Thomas and Owen Williams, who argue that Lady Ann Bacon possessed both the serious interest and the competence to teach her sons (*ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1947, p. 51; Feb. 8, 1947, p. 79). But none of these con-

has not hitherto been noticed that in 1578 one John Walsall recorded the fact in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" prefixed to a little work whose title reads: "A Sermon Preached at Pavls Crosse by Iohn Walsal, one of the Preachers of Christ his Church in Canterburie. 5. October. 1578. And published at the earnest request of certeine godlie Londoners and others. Neither is he that planteth, any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giueth increase. I Cor. 3. 7. At London. Printed for G. Byshop." [Colophon: "Imprinted at London by Henrie Middleton for George Byshop."]<sup>3</sup> The epistle is addressed to Francis Bacon's mother, the Lady Ann Bacon, to whom Walsall wished to "make some outwarde shewe of mine inwarde heartie thanksgiving for the benefits bestowed upon, and the trust reposed in me your humble and faithfull servant." He then calls to her memory his early connection with the Bacon family:

And when I considered, that by my Lorde and your Ladyship I was first called from the universitie to teach your two sonnes (and those such children, as for the true feare of God, zealous affection to this word, obedience to their parents, reverence to their superiours, humility to their inferiours, love to their instructour, I never knewe any excell them) and also that by the same meanes I was likewise first called from teaching of children, to enstruct men, verely I could not but dedicate the first fruites of these my so generall labours to some of that house, whence I was first sent out to be a poore labourer in the Lords great harvest.<sup>4</sup>

Little is known of John Walsall beyond the usual few facts regarding his university career and the various livings he held. He was a student at Christ Church, Oxford, by 1563, received his B. A. degree June 25, 1566, his M. A. July 9, 1568, and his B. D. June 22 and D. D. July 6, 1584. He was rector of Corton Dinham, Somerset, from 1567 to 1574; canon of Chichester, 1569-71; rector of Lutterworth, Leicestershire, 1569-71; rector of Eastling, Kent, 1574-1617; and vicar of Appledore, Kent, 1590-1609.<sup>5</sup> It may be assumed that he died about 1617.

tributors has offered proof that either Lady Ann or Sir Anthony actually tutored young Anthony and Francis.

<sup>3</sup> *STC* records copies only in the Lambeth Palace and the Bodleian libraries. I have used a photostat of the latter copy.

<sup>4</sup> In all quotations from this text abbreviations have been expanded and the letters *u*, *v*, and *i* have been altered to conform to modern usage.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

Some indication of the esteem in which he was held at an early date in his career may be seen in the fact that he was chaplain to the Lord Keeper Bacon and was given dispensation to hold livings in plurality: "20 Dec., 1569. Cum Johanne Walsall M. A. Rectore Eccl'ie de Corton Denham Bath & Wells Diocese Capellano d'ni Custodis Magni Sigilli Anglie ad due beneficia."<sup>6</sup> His first living, which according to his account was bestowed upon him by the Lord Keeper, was very probably that of Corton Dinham, Somerset, upon which he entered in 1567. We may assume, therefore, that the period of his employment in the Bacon household must have begun shortly after his graduation from Christ Church on June 25, 1566, when Francis Bacon was between five and six years of age. It is probable that he continued to give instruction to the boys after his appointment to Corton Dinham, possibly until the end of 1569, since at that date he was still known as the Lord Keeper's chaplain. At any rate, there can be little doubt that in John Walsall we have Francis Bacon's first teacher, a man called from Oxford University to undertake the task.

The sermon, which he calls his "first fruities," is the only work he published.<sup>7</sup> The long dedication prefixed to it was obviously designed to please his patroness, the Lady Ann, who was widely known for her extraordinary learning and strict piety, and the sermon itself expounds doctrinal and sectarian ideas which would have been welcome to her.

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<sup>6</sup> *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, XIII (1913), 78.

<sup>7</sup> The *STC* is in error in assigning to him *The Life and Death of Jesus Christ* (1607, 1615, 1622). The work is actually a sermon by his son, Samuel Walsall, who was born at Eastling, Kent, in 1575, received the usual four degrees from Cambridge, and was master of Corpus Christi from 1618 until his death on July 31, 1626. He had an elder brother, Thomas Walsall, also a Cambridge man and divine. See Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

# A SIDELIGHT ON THE HUME-ROUSSEAU QUARREL

In his *Concise Account* of the quarrel with Rousseau, published in November 1766, Hume informed the reader that the original letters of the controversy were to be deposited in the British Museum and, in January 1767,<sup>1</sup> he wrote from Edinburgh to Dr. Matthew Maty, one of the librarians, to say that he was sending them by his friend Allan Ramsay. Nearly three months later, on 22 April, Dr. Maty replied that the trustees of the Museum had not thought proper to receive the documents.<sup>2</sup>

Greig does not actually say so, but he implies that Maty returned the documents with his letter. That this was not the case may be seen from the following note to an unknown correspondent, which reveals that Hume had not recovered them after a lapse of nine months and that he suspected that Maty had refused them on his own initiative:<sup>3</sup>

Sir,

I doubt not, but you remember, that when I had the pleasure of meeting you at Wickham about two months ago, I mentioned to you the affair of Mr. Rousseau's Letters to me, the Originals of which I had sent to Mr. Maty, to be preserved in the Musaeum. As the curators did not think proper to give them place, I wishd to recover Possession of them, and Mr. Maty promised to send them to me; But he has always neglected it. I should be much oblig'd to you, if you woud put him in mind of it.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

Secretary of State's Office

David Hume

Saint James's 29 of Oct 1767

P. S. I should be glad to know whether Dr. Maty ever propos'd the affair to the Curators.

It should be added that the documents were apparently returned to Hume at some later date, for they are now among his papers owned by the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

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<sup>1</sup> Greig, *Letters of David Hume*, Oxford, 1932, ii. 117-18.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, 1846, ii. 359.

<sup>3</sup> This note was printed in A. H. Joline's *Meditations of an Autograph Collector*, New York, 1902, p. 237, but is not included in Greig's edition of Hume's letters.



## BURNS AND PEGGY CHALMERS

The young Boston merchant Henry Lee, Jr. (1817-1896), Harvard, 1836, was from April, 1842, to October, 1843, on a grand tour of Great Britain and the Continent. He crossed the Atlantic with Washington Irving and, after a month in England, journeyed north and spent June in Scotland, visiting "the town of Ayr, where Burns lived and loved-," Glasgow, and the Highlands; the end of the month found him in Stirling as the guest of Mr. McMicking, president of the local branch of the Bank of Glasgow. Mrs. McMicking's father(?) had known Burns, and she herself had been a friend of one of his "constant correspondents," so young Lee proceeded to "bleed" her for anecdotes of the poet.

The results,<sup>1</sup> perhaps, are of no great importance in themselves, but where so much is vague and controversial, any stroke, any touch of color, may be of value in assisting to complete and fill in the outline:

It seems Mrs M's father owned the farm at Ellisland that Burns rented, and once dined there on a haggis—and Mrs Louis Hay, who was one of his constant correspondents, was a friend of Mrs. M. and she had told her much about him, of his love for Highland Mary, whom he had known as a servant in Lord Eglinton's service, and a most excellent and interesting girl—that she felt sure Burns would have been utterly different, had she lived to cherish and support him, that he married Jean Armour because he had promised to, not because she was pretty or sensible or good, for she was neither to a respectable degree, nor was she his bonnie Jean. This was Jean Lorrimer, the "lassie wi' the lint white locks" who was ruined by his admiration and attentions—that she (Mrs M asked her this, she being very young & enthusiastic) herself could never have fallen in love, or even approached the feeling, for with all his appreciation of the beautiful & delicate, his appearance was dark and coarse, and his manners tinctured also, and how could it be otherwise, with his early associations and habits, but only needed to be in the company of those who respected themselves to be himself respectful, that once upon leaving her at her door after an evening of great excitement, and when he was inspired by the company in which he had been, he said "Now let us part like an honest lad & lassie, permit me to salute you!" and she lent a deaf ear, and talked on, Burns recoiled, was mortified and checked at once, and ever after respectful & attentive.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Lee Shattuck Collection, Boston, Mass. Henry Lee, Stirling, June 30, 1842, to F. L. Lee, Boston.

A difficulty appears at the very beginning. Patrick Miller (1731-1815), banker and projector, Burns's friend, patron, and landlord, numbered among his five children two daughters, but, so far as the *DNB* indicates, neither of them married a banker named McMicking. Could Henry Lee have heard "father" when Mrs. McMicking said "grandfather"? Or was Mrs. McMicking's father the John Morin of Laggan, who "became proprietor of Ellisland at Martinmas, 1791"? Presumably, in that case, his dining on a haggis took place before his quarrel with Burns over "the condition of the fields and fences."<sup>2</sup> But whether or not Mrs. McMicking, as daughter (or grand-daughter) of Burns's landlord, knew or had met the poet personally, her principal channel of information was her friendship with the former Margaret Chalmers (1763?-1843), who in December, 1788, became the wife of the Edinburgh banker Lewis Hay (dec. 1800), and whose relationship with Burns, once he had become convinced that his suit was hopeless, "ripened into a genuine friendship."<sup>3</sup> Burns wrote to her with unusual freedom but, as nearly all his letters to her are said to have been destroyed,<sup>4</sup> any information from another source as to their relations is of some importance.

The statement that "Highland Mary" had been in the service of Lord Eglinton—the earl who at his countess' instigation subscribed ten guineas to the Kilmarnock edition of Burns's poems<sup>5</sup>—could easily have been confided to Margaret Chalmers in one of the missing letters. Any thin and faint ray of light into this obscure corner of Burns's life, concerning which so much has been written and so little is known, must be of interest; but the comparison between "Highland Mary" and Jean Armour was probably conventional.

The statement concerning "Jean Lorrimer [sic]" is hardly borne out by the facts; she seems to have been "ruined," if that is the proper word, by an unfortunate marriage to a scapegrace long before Burns in his later years addressed her in song as "Chloris."

<sup>2</sup> Simpson, Richard, "Ellisland," *Annual Burns chronicle and club directory*, VII (Jan., 1898), 85-96, esp. 88; Duncan, R., "An Ellisland relic," *Burns chronicle*, XVIII (Jan., 1909), 144-146.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, J. De Lancey, *Pride and passion: Robert Burns, 1759-1796*, N. Y., 1939, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *The Letters of Robert Burns*, Ed. J. De L. Ferguson, Oxford, 1931, II, 344.

<sup>5</sup> Ferguson, 197.

Such value as this account possesses probably lies chiefly in the portrayal of Burns's rustic courtship manners. Professor Ferguson remarks: "Apparently it [Burns's friendship with Margaret Chalmers] began, as usual, with love-making, but . . . Margaret gently put a stop to that—probably telling Burns that she was already engaged to Lewis Hay." The anecdote suggests that Margaret was quite capable of dealing with Burns's tentative advances without reference to any *fiancé*, that she was sufficiently self-possessed coolly to ignore his initial step—probably "inspired" by influences additional to and more potent than merely "the company in which he had been"—and that this slightly chilly disregard sufficed to discourage further attempts.

Henry Lee's passage on Burns comes to us, of course, over half a century after the event and at third hand—Margaret Chalmers to Mrs. McMicking, Mrs. M. to Henry Lee, Henry Lee to us—and even at fourth hand when Margaret Chalmers is passing along information conveyed to her by Burns—but the personalities involved are unusually responsible and trustworthy. Margaret Chalmers seems to have been the most intelligent and best balanced, perhaps the most understanding, of Burns's female friends; Mrs. McMicking, whom Henry Lee described as "just like any sensible affectionate mother, full of kindness and interest, and great quietness and real dignity of character," hardly seems to be one merely to repeat random and floating gossip; and Henry Lee, an alert, intelligent, well-informed man, intensely interested in literature and literary men, set down what he had been told while it was still fresh in his memory, probably the very day he heard it.

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#### WHO SUGGESTED THE PLAN FOR BULWER'S *PAUL CLIFFORD*?

Although the first conception was enlarged, Bulwer's *Paul Clifford* began as a political satire, genial and gay, in which notable public figures, chiefly Tories, were to be represented as members of a band of highwaymen. The immediate suggestion for the story came, Bulwer wrote in his preface, from a friend:

For the original idea of Paul Clifford, I am indebted to a gentleman of considerable distinction in literature, and whose kindness to me is one of my most gratifying remembrances.<sup>1</sup>

The "original idea" is specifically described as the *à clef* feature, but the friend is not named.

He was identified as William Godwin by Robert, first Earl Lytton, in his biography of his father.<sup>2</sup> Later works have attributed to Godwin the suggestion for the novel, presumably upon Robert Lytton's authority.<sup>3</sup> It is natural that his statement should have been accepted; and the continued attribution of so lively a jest to a humorless writer has been made easier by the existence, in Bulwer's novels, of influences from Godwin's works.

Yet the same Dedicatory Epistle in which the obligation is stated contains a satirical complaint against the Scotch, which Bulwer tempers with a few exceptions:

It is not an easy matter seriously to dislike . . . the country that has produced Burns, Scott, and Campbell—a country, too, by the way, with which you [Alexander Cockburn] claim a connection, and of which the distinguished friend I have mentioned in this epistle is a native.<sup>4</sup>

The friend cannot be identified as William Godwin, who was born in Cambridgeshire. Who was he, then? Besides the passages already quoted, the Epistle offers only this, too polite to be very helpful:

It were to be wished that my friend had found leisure himself, among labours more important, to embody his own ideas; or that, in giving me the canvass, he could have given me also his skill to colour and his talent to create.<sup>5</sup>

The person who best satisfies all the conditions—as to birthplace, acquaintance with Bulwer, politically irreverent wit, and all else—

<sup>1</sup> *Paul Clifford* (London, 1830), Dedicatory Epistle, xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton* (London, 1883), II, 246-47.

<sup>3</sup> T. H. S. Escott, *Edward Bulwer, First Baron Lytton of Knebworth* (London, 1910), 169-70; Michael Sadleir, *Bulwer: a Panorama. I. Edward and Rosina, 1803-1836* (Boston, 1931), 204; Louis Cazamian, *Le Roman social en Angleterre* (Paris, 1934), I, 82-83; F. W. Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery* (Boston, 1907), II, 370; Ford K. Brown, *Life of William Godwin* (London, 1926), 363.

<sup>4</sup> *Paul Clifford*, xix-xx.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

is Thomas Campbell. Still editor of Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* at the time *Paul Clifford* appeared, he was succeeded by Bulwer in 1831. The latter's compliment to "labours more important" may allude to the editorship and likewise to the Lord Rectorship of the University of Glasgow. Campbell ended his unprecedented third term in that office late in 1829, after performing its usually nominal duties with surprising zeal.

As for a personal connection between Bulwer and Campbell before the writing of *Paul Clifford*, Henry Colburn was publisher to both and undoubtedly brought them together. A considerable intimacy shows itself in Campbell's verses on the birth of Bulwer's first child,<sup>6</sup> in June, 1828. The two men were highly congenial, as appears from a letter which Bulwer wrote in a later year:

I wish I could repeat Campbell's conversation, though I regret to say that the wittiest part of it was somewhat profane. He suggested the idea of *Le Bon Dieu* coming to London to sell the copyright of the Bible and going the rounds of the publishers. . . .

Another idea full of humour he started, which though not profane was a little obscene. . . . The peculiarity of his talk that night was riotous drollery and fun, yet such as only a man of a poet's rich imagination could invent.<sup>7</sup>

The letter as a whole convincingly presents Campbell's humor, with which the scheme of describing members of government as highwaymen in Gentleman George's public house is quite in harmony. Everything combines to suggest that it was Campbell who, on some convivial evening with Bulwer, set *Paul Clifford* going.

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#### COLERIDGE'S "METRICAL EXPERIMENTS"

Of the poems that have been printed from Coleridge's manuscript notebook and entitled "Metrical Experiments,"<sup>1</sup> O. Ritter has identified one as actually by Thomas Parnell and another as

<sup>6</sup> "Lines to Edward Lytton Bulwer on the Birth of His Child," *New Monthly Magazine*, n. s. XXIII (September, 1828), 208.

<sup>7</sup> Sadleir, *op. cit.*, 186-87.

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Oxford, 1912), 1014-19.

by Sir John Beaumont.<sup>2</sup> I was later able to point out that number 12 of the so-called experiments is an early seventeenth-century lyric; and I therefore suggested that Coleridge's authorship of nearly all the experiments must be suspect.<sup>3</sup>

It appears probable that number 10 of these poems was borrowed for the notebook from William Cartwright's "Sadness." Cartwright's initial stanza reads:

Whiles I this standing lake,  
Swath'd up with ewe and cypress boughs,  
Do move by sighs and vows,  
Let sadness only wake;  
That whiles thick darkness blots the light,  
My thoughts may cast another night:  
In which double shade,  
By heav'n, and me made,  
O let me weep,  
And fall asleep,  
And forgotten fade.

Coleridge altered the last five lines in the following manner:

There in some darksome shade  
Methinks I'd weep  
Myself asleep,  
And there forgotten fade.

The alterations, I believe, greatly improve the melody.

The likelihood that Coleridge turned to Cartwright for these lines is increased by Coleridge's known interest in Cartwright and by his practice of jotting in his notebooks passages from the plays and poems of the seventeenth-century author.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> "Coleridgiana," *Englische Studien*, LVIII (1924), 377.

<sup>3</sup> *MLN*, LV (1940), 432-3.

<sup>4</sup> *The Complete Poetical Works*, iv; 996 n.



## A NOTE ON WORDSWORTH'S "THE SOLITARY REAPER"

Although the main source for Wordsworth's "The Solitary Reaper" is well-known, the poet may possibly have had in the back of his mind the following passage in Robert Heron's *Observations of Scotland*, a book that Wordsworth quoted from at length in a note to *The Excursion*:<sup>1</sup>

As we entered the yard at the inn of Tayndrom, we heard the plaintive and simple notes of a Gaelic air sung to Gaelic words. . . . I was attracted by the music: For I have long since learned to admire the simple, native music of my country with all the fond enthusiasm of ignorance: And as I have not the happiness to understand Gaelic, it was natural for me to be pleased with the words of a Gaelic song. . . . It is a fact in the history of the manners of the Highlanders, that they are accustomed to sing at the performance of almost every piece of social labour: Rowers in a boat sing as they ply the oars; reapers sing as they cut down handful after handful of corn; and here were washers singing as they rubbed and rinsed their clothes. This accompaniment of music certainly renders the labour more cheerful. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Just how much this passage may have influenced Wordsworth cannot, of course, be positively determined. Perhaps he owes to it only the word *plaintiff* in the lines:

Will no one tell me what she sings?—  
Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow  
For old, unhappy, far-off things,  
And battles long ago:

The debt may be greater, however; and Wordsworth who, like Heron, did not understand Gaelic, may have been reminded of the singing reapers he had encountered during his own tour of Scotland by reading Heron's remark that he was pleased with the words of the Gaelic song even though he did not understand it.

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<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*, ed. Knight, v: 395-396.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Heron, *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland; in the Autumn of M, DCC, XCII* . . . 1793, I: 286.

## REVIEWS

*Shakspere's Five-Act Structure.* By T. W. BALDWIN. Urbana: the University of Illinois Press, 1947. Pp. xviii + 848. \$20.00.

The present volume in Professor Baldwin's series of Shakspere studies is a major contribution toward the solution of one of the most difficult and controversial problems in Shaksperean exegesis: that of act-division in the plays. The problem has two principal aspects: composition and stage-presentation. The author is not here concerned to discuss the matter of act-division in the contemporary productions of Shakspere's plays but rather to answer the question: Did Shakspere compose the earliest plays he designed for the Elizabethan stage with a definite act-structure in mind? Professor Baldwin's answer is a solid and emphatic yes.

The author's procedure is to examine first the doctrines concerning act-structure that were taught or talked about from earliest recorded times. He finds the theory of five-act structure first discussed at length in the commentary of Donatus upon Terence. After a preliminary consideration of the discernible act-structure in the surviving plays of Terence, he proceeds to describe and carefully analyze the theories of five-act structure set forth in the commentaries upon ancient drama and taught in the schools of Europe from the time of Donatus and Servius to that of the schoolboy William Shakspere. No significant commentary upon this matter, one judges, has been overlooked. It must be a long time since anyone has taken extended notice of such worthies as Raphael Regius, Calphurnius, Benedictus Philologus, Guido Juvenalis, Omphalius, Latomus, and Iodocus Willichius; but here they receive full justice—and a great many more besides—as we follow their efforts to explain the structure of Terence, chiefly, to their schoolboy classes. The investigation provides an impressive model of the method to be used if we are ever to have a fully informed opinion concerning the theoretical processes brought to bear upon the production of literature in the Renaissance—as Professor Baldwin insists, the present study traces but a single strand in the skein of theory that lies behind the development of one literary genre; at least, this particular thread—or perhaps one should say 'cable'—will not have to be disentangled again.

The outcome of Professor Baldwin's preliminary investigation may be thus summarized: The formula of five-act structure that came to be generally accepted as derived from ancient authority and universally taught in the schools of Europe from the mid-sixteenth century onwards requires the first two acts of the play to set forth

the situation, the dramatic struggle (the *protasis*); the third act brings the struggle to a crisis (*epitasis*) which is continued to its height in the fourth act (called by J. C. Scaliger the *catastasis*); the fifth act contains the solution (*catastrophe*).

Professor Baldwin then demonstrates that this formula was known in England during the sixteenth century and commonly taught in the grammar schools as part of the prescribed study of Terence. Thus William Shakspeare probably gained an early familiarity with it as a 'learned grammarian' at Stratford, and in any event could hardly have avoided some acquaintance with its employment in English plays that use this structure, like *Roister Doister*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, various performances at the Inns of Court and the universities, and especially the plays of John Lyly, who was, Professor Baldwin holds, among Shakspeare's contemporaries his first model in the art of writing comedy.

The last third of the volume contains the most interesting and controversial part of Professor Baldwin's study. Professor Baldwin uses the evidence of act-structure, supplemented by whatever other evidences are available, in an attempt to establish exactly the chronology of Shakspeare's earliest plays. He concludes that Shakspeare began his career as a dramatist with *Love's Labour's Lost*, which was "constructed in 1588-9, and was augmented as its title page claims for the revival of 1598" (p. 664); that *The Comedy of Errors* followed in 1589 (p. 690), with a version of *All's Well* probably intermediate between them (p. 734); that *Two Gentlemen* preceded *Romeo and Juliet*, which latter, in its earliest form, should be assigned to the summer of 1591 (p. 775); and that "it is finally clear that Shakspeare began upon comedy, not tragedy; and that he first wrote independent plays, only later revised some that others had written" (p. 805). These conclusions, based as they are upon an exhaustive analysis of the available evidence, are the foundation for a study of the chronological development of Shakspeare's art to be continued in subsequent volumes.

Professor Baldwin establishes beyond reasonable doubt that Shakspeare knew and used a five-act structure in writing these early plays. That the available evidence warrants his dating these plays so precisely in order of composition is more debatable. He makes a strong case for the primacy of *Love's Labour's Lost* in 1588-9 from a variety of contemporary allusions which support his argument that the structure of the play is imitated from the versions of Lyly's *Endimion* and *Gallathea* acted in 1587-8 (pp. 628-9); but *Romeo and Juliet* is assigned to 1591 chiefly on the basis of the resemblance between 'Gallop apace, ye fiery-footed steeds/ Towards Phoebus' lodging' and the prayer of Marlowe's Edward II: 'Gallop a pace bright Phoebus through the skie.' Shakspeare's lines are held to derive from Brooke and Ovid; Marlowe, however, derived from Shakspeare, and Marlowe's further conjectured borrowing from the printed *Troublesome Reign of King John* (1591) is taken to square

with the Nurse's "'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years' to establish indubitably the summer of 1591 for the first version of *Romeo and Juliet*. One wonders whether this evidence is strong enough to bear the weight of Professor Baldwin's insistence. Nevertheless, it is extremely important to establish as definitely as we can the chronology of the plays. Professor Baldwin doubtless feels that guarded and qualified surmises, though safer, are of no real help in this difficult matter. His very insistence will stimulate closer study of the plays, and his conclusions will not be easily set aside.

It is further argued that Shakspeare's earliest plays employ the expository purpose of Terentian comedy, where the interest is more in the dramatic working out of an idea than in the narrative, and that Shakspeare's development, like that of his fellow dramatists, illustrates the growth of the narrative interest in English drama at the expense of the expository. Despite Professor Baldwin's ingenious argument for the importance of the idea that "we conquer our affections not by study but by grace" in *Love's Labour's Lost* (p. 616), it is not clear to this reviewer how the expository and narrative purposes can be profitably separated even in this play; and it is not easy to see how the distinction may be maintained in discussing later plays like *Lear* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, where the two purposes seem to be inextricably joined. Shakspeare's skill in plotting and characterization unquestionably improved as he went on, but this is not to say that his interest in working out ideas in his plays correspondingly diminished, or even that the interest in ideas is uppermost in his earliest plays.

One hopes that Professor Baldwin will consider the matter of stage presentation in his following studies of the structure of Shakspeare's plays. It seems most probable that some, at least, of the plays performed in the public theatres of Shakspeare's time did not observe four act-pauses in production. If some of Shakspeare's plays were performed with fewer than four act-pauses, it would be surprising to find that this circumstance did not lead Shakspeare to modify the five-act formula in the composition of his plays, since no dramatist of the period shows greater attention to the effects to be produced in the theatre.

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*Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century.* By EARL R. WASSERMAN. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1947. Pp. 291. \$2.50. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature Vol. XXXII, nos. 2-3.)

*Les Poètes Anglais du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* By LÉON LEMONNIER. Paris: Boivin & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1947. Pp. 245. (Le Livre de l'Etudiant, no. 20.)

The eighteenth century's awareness of "Elizabethan" poetry

will bear careful exploration, and Dr. Wasserman has given a painstaking and worthwhile account of the subject, revealing much that is not apparent on the surface. In his second chapter, for example, he demonstrates by means of collation and illustration with what surprising thoroughness the earlier poets were "corrected" in eighteenth-century editions. Indeed, he makes it evident that editorial "accuracy," during at least the first three quarters of the century, included "improvement" as essential business: regulation of meter, modernizing and dignifying of language, smoothing and correction of syntax and grammar.

In a chapter on Shakespeare and Spenser, attention is briefly given to the slight influence of Shakespeare's style on the non-dramatic poetry—the Drama is omitted by design—but sixty pages are justifiably given over to tracing the impact of Spenser: his fancy, his moral, his metric, and his diction. Although the tale is hardly new, there is probably nowhere a more useful summary than this of a fascinating episode in the annals of changing literary taste; and Wasserman has increased its value by appending a quite extensive chronological list of poems influenced by Spenser. In view of the pervasive indifference of our own eclectic age (apart from the small band of the devoted), it is very remarkable how the eighteenth century ran the gamut of all responses save indifference to that unique voice: they laughed, they shuddered, they were vexed, they were edified, they admired, they loved, they were transported; they travestied, they imitated affectionately or reverently, they borrowed elements of his art at will; but they could never leave him alone. They were bewitched with his company; but the medicines he gave them in time set them free.

The Elizabethan Lyric is a less manageable subject, and the chapter devoted to it is subject to objection and correction. Although reference is made to many song-books and to musical performance, little justice is done to this sister art, nor does Wasserman always heed the implications of his own statements. For example: he fails to take proper account of new musical settings as agents of survival or revival of earlier lyrics, but prefers the dubious course of positing an "increasing enthusiasm for Elizabethan music" (p. 169) which "led to an interest in the lyrics themselves," which thereupon gave an impulse to new settings. Now, quantities of new settings would seem patently to deny enthusiasm for the old, and in any case such enthusiasm would be hard to document at that date. It is true that Hawkins paid attention to the earlier English music in his *History* (1776), but mainly as to a curiosity; and Dr. Burney, writing in the same decade, notices the Elizabethans for the most part only to decry them. Minute scholars, besides, will note a good many inaccuracies and doubtful assertions in this part of the work.\*

\* The unsupported statement seems churlish, but details are space-con-

The tenor of this chapter on the Lyric is hostile—or at the very least patronizing—to the eighteenth century. Although commencing with salutary caution by acknowledging the persistence of a taste for older lyric, Wasserman seems not to have absorbed the significance of his evidence. He writes as if from the point of view of a nineteenth-century critic with a stereotyped, unfavorable idea of the eighteenth century, who then, being frequently confronted with evidence contradictory to the stereotype, remains unable or unwilling to make a radical revision of judgment commensurate with the facts. The attitude is epitomized in the following sentence:

Incongruous though the picture may be, it is not at all unlikely that Pope occasionally sat through performances of Heywood's "You pretty birds that sit and sing" or Breton's "In the merry month of May" and that perhaps Horace Walpole, taking a turn through Vauxhall, stopped to hear Mr. Lowe sing Wither's "Shall I wasting in despair," set to music by Dr. Arne." (p. 159)

The incongruity, of course, resides not in the historical facts, but in their failure to correspond with a too narrow and constricted idea of the age, in the mind of the observer. And, here, the critic seems inflexibly to proceed with the contradiction unresolved and persistent. Wasserman rightly points out that most of the earlier lyrics in the *Reliques* had been popular in the first half of Percy's century; but when he discusses the neoclassical attitude toward Lyric, his account is unleavened by this knowledge. Quoting as "characteristic of his age" Ambrose Philips's prescription for song, Wasserman says: "We need only try to fit to this formula [*sic*] of so massive a theme as Shirley's 'The glories of our birth [*sic*] and state' to discover how greatly the concept of the lyric had changed" (p. 171). Yes: but *maugre* the formula the century admired Shirley's "fine moral stanzas," as Percy called them when he came to reprint them; and such facts tend to be obliterated by the negative drift of Wasserman's discussion:

But . . . their theory of the genre was at variance with Elizabethan practice. A desire for regularity, moderated wittiness, conventionalized feelings, and brilliant polish had replaced the emotionalism, subjectivity, and lyrical variety of the Elizabethan songs. . . . To accuse these men of a literary blindness, however, would be beside the point. . . . [Ariel's song, "Full fathoms five,"] lacks "an elegant and unaffected turn of wit" and "utmost nicety," and therefore the neoclassicists could not perceive any

suming. An instance or two must stand for all. It appears to be consistently assumed that Byrd, Wilbye, Robert Jones, Ravenscroft, Orlando Gibbons, and the rest, wrote the lyrics they set (cf. pp. 154, 157, 158, 159, 169, and Index, s. v. Byrd, Gibbon [*sic*]). Is there any good authority for attributing "Walsingham" to Raleigh? or the familiar setting of "Drink to me only" to Thomas Linley? When Marlowe's "Come live with me" was taken into Bickerstaffe's *Love in a Village* (1762, not 1777)—but I do not find it there—the caption, "A favourite Scotch Air" presumably refers to the tune, not to the words (p. 167).



virtue in it. It is not surprising that one of the most popular songs in the eighteenth century was William Whitehead's "Je Ne Scai Quoi." [Pp. 171-73]

When they altered and reworked, the neoclassicists, says the critic, fitted "characteristic neoclassic clichés to the highly lyrical pattern" (p. 183) or put out, as original, a "juggling" of earlier beauties, in which "only the versification and the general sense are preserved, but [in which] *much of the charm, vigor, and delicacy of the original persists in shining through* [*italics mine*]. The most vicious instance of this eighteenth-century form of literary deception" &c. "The Augustans generally borrowed from the Elizabethans their themes, a witty thought, an ingenious figure of speech, but rarely their artistry" (p. 184). Donne's pieces, for example, were reduced to "a greatly simplified, almost mechanical versification, which the Augustans characterized as 'smooth.'" The ensuing pages ring the changes on these denigrations: "neoclassic poeticisms," "enervated," "only the intellectual playfulness that the neoclassicists delighted in," "leveled out," "little taste for the daintiness of the fairy lore" (although, he has just remarked, "the Augustan put the lyric into the same category as the exquisite *objets d'art* which was one of his supreme contributions"), "genteel evenness," "complete artificiality." There is little apparent effort to admit the existence of values other than what are taken, without argument or definition, to be the Elizabethan absolute, or to descry any characteristic excellences in Georgian lyric. Yet surely Wasserman, when put to the question, is ready to allow that it does not follow that the early Georgians, because "their theory of the genre was at variance with Elizabethan practice," were therefore lacking all sense of a style they chose not to practise; any more than that our own age may fairly be accused of insensitivity to Elizabethan Lyric because our poets do not try the same tune. Moreover, is there in fact no singing quality in the witty lyric, in the age of the ballad opera, or of the hymns of Addison, Watts, Charles Wesley, Cowper?

The book, in fact, has an air of critical confusion, and its major terms are abused by the looseness with which they are employed. *Augustan* and *neoclassical* are used interchangeably, and cover the whole century and more; while *Elizabethan* with equal freedom covers any poet from Cornish and Skelton to Herrick. Finer discriminations of style within these categories are for the most part lacking. Can it properly be cited as evidence of Elizabethan "revival" that Herrick (pb. 1647-48) appears with settings by the Laweses in Playford's songbooks of dates 1652 to 1673? And if the "neoclassical" treatment of earlier texts is already manifest in Edward Phillips's *Drummond*, 1656, are we not to take account of an aesthetic and intellectual thrust of more moment than a tasteless aberration of the next century?

In truth, "neoclassicism," if defined at all, is defined here largely by negatives. The first chapter, on "Neoclassic Criticism," helps less than one would hope, although it reaches the striking and valuable truth that "The revolt against some of the narrower restrictions of neoclassicism begins with neoclassicism itself." The final chapter, on "The Elizabethan 'Revival,'" is a useful synopsis of that trend of scholarly and critical interest and taste, particularly as it affected the editors and historians. It would, moreover, be ungrateful not to acknowledge and praise the faithful and close study that has gone into the work as a whole, whilst yet maintaining that the picture falls short of consistency in attitude, and is critically incommensurate with its subject.

Far from the atmosphere of a dissertation is Léon Lemonnier's little book, one of those introductory sketches of which the French possess the special secret. M. Lemonnier, in a dozen short chapters, has outlined the life and achievement of an equal number of poets of the eighteenth century, from Pope to Blake. This is no book for the specialist, nor does it appear that the author has kept abreast of the literature of his subject. He does not take advantage of recent studies of Burns and Blake, and his brief bibliography is by no means up to date. But, if there is little here that is new, all is freshly and sensitively perceived, and expressed with a limpid ease and grace, a delicate precision, a transparent clarity, a perfect accord of matter and manner, which scholarship on this side the Atlantic can only admire and envy.

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*Quest for Mysteries. The Masonic Background for Literature in Eighteenth-Century Germany.* By HEINRICH SCHNEIDER: Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 178.

Before reading the book, I, too, was inclined "to brand all secret societies of mystical character not fitting into the Enlightenment pattern—and such were met with often—as aberrations, perversions, or downright impostures, and to dispose of them as unworthy of serious consideration" (8 f.). Having read Schneider's book, I have become aware of the fact that my ideas were to a large extent based on oversimplifications; by the mass of evidence presented Schneider proves conclusively that masonry can not be explained as a mere offshoot of rationalism. If the reader wonders why his ideas on masonry were so completely mistaken, he finds the answer to that question in chapter IX (Some Results of Research) where Schneider, discussing previous research on the subject, comes to the conclusion that many leading authorities in the field of German Literature,

scholars such as Hettner, Richard Meyer, F. J. Schneider, held inadequate, if not erroneous ideas on the secret societies of the eighteenth century.

Schneider's book bears the subtitle: *The Masonic Background for Literature in the Eighteenth Century*. This subtitle is somewhat misleading since Schneider does not discuss the literary significance of masonry at all; his real aim is to detect in the cultural life of the eighteenth century the intellectual and religious needs that the secret societies tried to meet. The most important cause of their rise Schneider finds in that "failure of Protestantism to create a genuine new religious communion" (35). Viewed in this light, masonry appears as a movement paralleling pietism, and indeed, the kinship of the two movements is strongly emphasized by the author (47-49). He admits, to be sure, that the ideological aim of masonry "as it made its first appearance in Germany" is closely related to that of rationalism, and he describes masonry as "the practical realization of the idea of humanity whose truth and value enlightened thought accepted as apodictic" (56), but "even if the fundamental idea was rationally established, the mason . . . never ceased to be aware that the consummation of his quest, being a state of mind and an attitude, was and must remain an ineffable mystery" (56 f.). According to Schneider the cult of the secret societies was to a considerable degree motivated by what he calls a "mystical reaction . . . against the claims of reason" (67).

The reader is informed in the preface that only a sketch of the basic principles of the secret societies was attempted, not a complete history (VIII). There is no doubt that this book is considerably more than a mere sketch; but it is true that many questions which might interest the literary historian in particular are left unanswered. The relationship of masonic ideas to the leading systems of Enlightenment philosophy—to Thomasius, Rüdiger, Wolff, Crusius, Mendelssohn—is touched on rather than discussed; the problem of possible connections between the eighteenth century cult of mysteries and that of ancient Greece is not included although they are bound to exist as Morhof's *Polyhistor*, Wieland's *Agathon* and other works indicate. All scholars of eighteenth century literature would be deeply grateful to Schneider if he were to follow up his book by a more complete work on the secret societies.

The translation of the book which was originally written in German is occasionally too literal.

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*La Geste du Prince Igor.* Épopée russe du douzième siècle. Texte établi, traduit et commenté sous la direction d' HENRI GRÉGOIRE, de ROMAN JAKOBSON et de MARC SZEFTTEL, assistés de J. A. JOFFE. *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves.* Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes à New York. Université Libre de Bruxelles. Tome VIII (1945-1947). New York, 1948. Pp. 383.

This edition of the most important medieval Russian epic is the collective work of a group of Slavic scholars accomplished in New York during the recent war. The main burden of the work fell on Roman Jakobson's shoulders. He has made a critical edition of the poem, supplied an elaborate *apparatus*, attempted a complete reconstruction of the text in the Russian of the twelfth century (as the manuscript dates only from the sixteenth century), made a new accurate translation into modern Russian and finally has written a long treatise (pp. 235-360) defending the authenticity of the *Lay of Igor*. Jakobson demonstrates beyond the possibility of doubt that André Mazon's bold attempt (*Le Slovo d' Igor*, Paris, 1940), to prove the poem a forgery of the late eighteenth century is totally mistaken. One after another of Mazon's arguments is taken up and shown to be invalid: all the supposed "obscurities" are cleared up, the orientalisms are proved ancient and genuine. There are no polonisms, gallicisms, nor, of course, epithets in the style of American Indians as M. Mazon had argued. There is no similarity between the case of *Igor* and the famous forgeries of old Czech manuscripts by Hanka and his associates. There is nothing to Mazon's view that the text contains modernisms, morphological and syntactical mistakes, pseudo-classical conventions and even Ossianic evocations and landscapes. The *Lay* is shown to have definite links with Byzantine chronicles and eschatological prophecies. Jakobson demonstrates its influence on Russian literature of the later Middle Ages. The poem *Zadonshchina*, which undoubtedly dates from the fifteenth century, cannot have been the model for the forger, as M. Mazon argued, but clearly was dependent on the *Lay of Igor*. Finally the author of the *Lay* had such a remarkable knowledge of folklore, magic formulas and pagan mythology that it is quite inconceivable that anybody in the eighteenth century could have had access to these facts. The arguments are marshalled so convincingly that the sensational thesis of the French scholar can be dismissed quite safely. Jakobson's conclusions are further supported by an essay of George Vernadsky's which shows how well the historical allusions of the *Lay* accord with our present-day knowledge; and obviously there is none more competent to judge than the author of *Ancient Russia*. Marc Szeftel, besides, has provided a detailed historical commentary to every name in the

poem and with great learning has cleared up many obscurities and disengaged many implications.

The edition contains, besides, a spirited French translation by Henri Grégoire, the Belgian byzantologist, a Polish translation by the poet Julian Tuwim and finally a fluent and accurate English translation by the late Samuel H. Cross of Harvard University. It seems a pity that Mr. Cross's translation still has some traces of Ossianic diction and rhythms which seem to contradict the arguments of the editor, though they must be explained by common Biblical antecedents.

A new volume of studies which will examine the poetic art of the poem in detail and contain further studies of its relation to the Russian poetic tradition as well as of its Oriental, Scandinavian and Classical elements is promised for the near future. In comparison with all the many Russian editions, Jakobson's constitutes a new definite advance in the elucidation of problems of the text and of interpretation. It also illuminates the most important poem of ancient Russia in its historical relations and definitely, even crushingly, refutes the doubts about its authenticity raised by M. Mazon.

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*Boccalini in Spain. A Study of His Influences on Prose Fiction of the Seventeenth Century.* By ROBERT H. WILLIAMS. Menasha, Wisconsin: 1947. Pp. viii + 139.

La influencia de Boccalini en España se había estudiado solamente en relación con algun gran escritor—Gracián, par ejemplo—, pero carecíamos de una exposición de conjunto como las existentes acerca de la misma influencia en otras literaturas europeas. Este es el hueco que viene a llenar ahora el cuidadoso trabajo del Prof. Williams.

Después de exponer brevemente la vida y las obras de Boccalini (I), el autor examina con detención las traducciones españolas (II), así las impresas como las manuscritas, sin omitir las que tienen un carácter fragmentario. La traducción de los *Ragguagli* de Pérez de Sousa está descrita minuciosamente. En el apéndice del libro hay una tabla de correspondencias entre las divisiones del texto italiano, siguiendo la edición de G. Rua, y la traducción de Pérez de Sousa en sus diferentes ediciones, que permite establecer exactamente las alteraciones y supresiones realizadas. Parece extraño que habiendo utilizado varios manuscritos del British Museum, el autor no se refiera para nada al que cita Gayangos en su catálogo (vol. I, p. 123) con el curioso título de *El sistema de la paz perpetua y las niñas de Tolosa*, aunque se trate probablemente de alguna adap-

tación libre. A las imitaciones y adaptaciones dedica el Prof. Williams el tercero y más extenso capítulo de su obra (p. 28-29). El circunstanciado examen de la producción de más de veinte escritores, grandes e ínfimos, desde Cervantes hasta Francisco Santos, atestigua la popularidad de Boccalini en España y la persistencia de su influjo a lo largo del siglo XVII. Pero el autor no se ha limitado a este período, y añade, aunque de manera menos sistemática, varias muestras de la influencia boccaliniana en el siglo siguiente. En capítulo aparte (IV) recoge alusiones y referencias diversas al escritor italiano, desde Suárez de Figueroa y Lope de Vega hasta don Ramón de la Cruz. En una sumaria recapitulación final (V), el Prof. Williams trata de explicar la singular aceptación entre los españoles de un escritor hostil a España, como Boccalini, por el ambiente de desilusión propicio al cultivo de la sátira. Hubiera valido la pena detenerse algo más en la cuestión. El autor señala luego las partes de la obra boccaliniana más frecuentemente imitadas, pero refiriéndose más bien a las alegorías o procedimientos satíricos que a las ideas que allí se contienen. Si el ingenio de Boccalini pudo ser el principal motivo de atracción para sus lectores españoles, en él había asimismo un pensamiento político que no debió ser indiferente para los observadores "desengañados" de su propio país.

El autor cree ver algo más que simple coincidencia entre la silva de Quevedo "Al inventor de la pieza de artillería"—donde, exaltando al fuego como instrumento divino y elemento natural de vida, se combate principalmente la soberbia humana—y el *ragguaglio* 46 de la primera centuria del libro de Boccalini—expresión de su ideal pacifista, contra la ambición guerrera de los príncipes—; pero en la concepción y desarrollo del tema el español y el italiano siguen caminos tan diversos que apenas queda otra semejanza que la execración del mortífero invento, verdadero lugar común en la literatura de la época.

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*The Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction.* By MARY PATCHELL. New York, Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 157. \$2.50. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 166.)

That familiar bit of arrogant ignorance, peculiar to Anglo-American "scholarship," which inclines to dismiss Spanish literature as of no consequence will not be cured by Professor Patchell's book. But it will be rebuked. *The Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction* is, in fact, a long overdue and highly commendable specimen of the type of comparative study needed to



supplement the excellent but inexhaustive survey made half a century ago by J. G. Underhill in his *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*. If Professor Patchell's book acts as a precipitant to further works of the sort, as is to be hoped, it will have served a very useful purpose.

The author has not been misled into a false estimate of the literary value of her materials. As she puts it in the Introduction (p. xii), "the intrinsic merit of these works is so slight that they deserve the oblivion into which they have fallen, yet to the historian of literature they are an interesting and significant reflection of the literary taste of a large group of readers of the sixteenth century and the source of a flood of chivalric imitations which made a characteristic contribution to the stream of English fiction." It is, then, really as a contribution to the history of taste that the five chapters of her study undertake "to describe these romances in their English dress, to analyze their themes and motifs, to note wherein they have followed and wherein they have departed from inherited literary tradition, and to point out what they have taken from contemporary Renaissance modes and what they have contributed to English fiction" (p. xiii).

Naturally, in treating comparatively material unfamiliar, if not inaccessible, to her readers the author has been forced to present a great deal of analytical detail not immediately relevant to her main concern—the influence of the *Palmerin* romances in *England*. Most readers will therefore probably feel that the principal contribution of the book is made in the more generalized discussions of the first and the last chapters. Nevertheless, the three central chapters—"Narrative Motifs," "The Treatment of Love," and "Literary Technique"—taken together with Appendix I, "Summaries of the *Palmerin* Romances," provide for the non-specialist reader an adequate notion of a typical group of Spanish *libros de caballería* and help him, thus, to read his translated *Don Quixote* a little more intelligently. It is perhaps proper to observe here that, since the "Elizabethan" of the title is accorded the customary extension, the *Palmerin* connections of the Shelton-Cervantes *Don Quixote* might justifiably have been given more than incidental attention.

Throughout the book there is scattered a considerable amount of criticism of Anthony Munday, chief English translator of the series. One of the most interesting points in this connection is that (p. 91) which calls attention to his euphuistic additions to the English translations. An appendix (Appendix II, pp. 134-135) also reprints three lyrics interpolated by Munday in his translation of *Primaleon*. In the final chapter, "The Influence of the Spanish Romances on Elizabethan Prose Fiction," Professor Patchell makes out a fairly convincing case for the influence of the *Palmerin* series, as well as the *Amadis*, upon Sidney's *Arcadia*. But the reader would have more confidence in the substantial "influence" of the *Palmerin* romances upon general Elizabethan fiction if the author had been

able to base her conclusions upon more than the "dozen or more of the late English romances" (p. 96) read, and if she had adduced—as it was assuredly possible to do—a greater number of contemporary allusions to the series.

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*The Percy Letters*, DAVID NICHOL SMITH & CLEANTH BROOKS, General Editors. *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy & Richard Farmer*. Edited by CLEANTH BROOKS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Pp. xviii + 218. \$3.50.

"Steevens is [a] young Man of very good estate, who has the greatest Zeal for the advancement of Literature that I ever knew; and spares no pains or cost to assist every laudable Pursuit."

This characterization of the young Shakespearean scholar, George Steevens, is an illustration not only of Thomas Percy's wide familiarity with the literary world of his day but also his appreciation for true scholarship. It is a fair sample of the many delightful glimpses which these letters give of men and books in the mid-eighteenth century. There is Johnson, of course: "I have for some time past had Mr. Johnson and his friend Mrs. Williams at my house: they have not yet left me, tho they *begin to talk of it*." (The italics are Percy's; the visit lasted nearly two months). Then there are the Shakespearians—Farmer and Capel and Steevens and Garrick; the Chaucerian, Tyrwhitt; and the romantics of various types—Gray, Walpole, the Wartons, Bishop Hurd, and William Shenstone.

Primarily, however, this series of letters is concerned with Percy's efforts in collecting and editing materials for the *Reliques*. He turned to his friend Farmer constantly for advice and aid. The correspondence reveals a surprising depth of scholarship and respect for thorough research at that date. This is emphasized by Professor Brooks in his Introduction as well as in his most careful and thorough notes. Not all questions are solved, and only one minor misinterpretation seems to have crept in: Gray, the poet, and "Mr. Gray" (p. 145, n. 3) were two different persons; the latter was attached in some way to the Northumberland household. But to one who has almost lived with Percy materials for twenty-five years, the extent and accuracy of information supplied by the editor is a source of constant enjoyment.

There are fifty-five letters in the volume, covering the period of 1762-1778. The Introduction treats informatively the Percy-

Farmer relationship, and the Appendix is a careful study of about all that is known of Percy's ill-fated edition of Surrey.

This volume is the second in the series of eight or ten projected for the Percy Letters under the editorship of David Nichol Smith and Cleanth Brooks. The Percy-Malone Correspondence was published earlier. The next volume will give the Percy-Warton letters. That such an extensive series of documents is now to be available in print is good fortune for students of the eighteenth century.

VINCENT H. OGBURN

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*The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth: Evening Voluntaries . . . Ode: Intimations of Immortality.* Edited from the manuscripts with textual and critical notes by E. DE SELINCOURT and HELEN DARBISHIRE. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1947. Pp. xvi + 490. \$7.50.

Although neither title or half-title mention the fact, this is the fourth volume of the new edition of Wordsworth which is distinguished by giving readings from hitherto unused manuscripts. The contributions of these manuscripts to the present volume are principally (1) making a separate line of "But He" in the Immortality Ode and thus providing a rime for line 66; printing for the first time (2) the translation of most of the first three books and some fifty other lines of *The Aeneid* together with (3) the modernization of Chaucer's *Manciple's Tale*. These and the new short pieces, as well as those previously published, but not by their author, are productions that the world would willingly let die. Several of them, it should be noticed, are satires. The pedestrian translation of Virgil is interesting chiefly because its couplets are varied with the triplets and alexandrines used by Dryden. Why from all Chaucer's riches Wordsworth chose *The Manciple's Tale* it is hard to see, but his reason for not printing his modernizing of it was that his friends thought it indelicate. He did not—his sister had read *The Miller's Tale* to him.

"To my knowledge," writes Karl Shapiro,<sup>1</sup> "I have never seen a discarded poem that excelled the final form." This is not to say that discarded words or phrases may not be better than those finally chosen; but in Wordsworth's case revisions are usually improvements. The many changes made in the "Ode to Duty" illustrate this fact strikingly. The rejected readings, although at times

<sup>1</sup> *Poets at Work*, New York, 1948, 121.

illuminating, are wordy and unduly detailed, and thus dissipate the terse, direct vigor which is essential to so stern an ode. Even the stanza which is here restored "as a valuable link in the thought" weakens the poem. The editors point out the ode's significantly heavy debt to Milton.

The bulk of the notes are those Wordsworth published and those he dictated to Miss Fenwick. The latter, often trivial and seldom dealing with esthetic problems, represent in the main a lost opportunity; Wordsworth might have given us something like the prefaces of Henry James. No mention is made of the publication by B. Ifor Evans in the *TLS* for June 13, 1936,<sup>2</sup> of the rejected stanzas, here given, of "Fidelity" and the "Ode to Duty"; nor are we told that the "Mr. Alstone" of Wordsworth's note (p. 397) is the American painter Washington Allston, Coleridge's friend and Wordsworth's acquaintance, and that his "exquisite picture of 'Jacob's Dream'" is said to be at Petworth.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

*English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance.* By J W. H. ATKINS. London: Methuen, 1948. Pp. xi + 371. 16s. In his previous volumes Atkins has surveyed the literary theories of ancient and mediaeval times; in this one he narrows his study to English criticism between 1500 and the death of Milton. His general procedure is chronological and he summarizes each critical work as it comes up in time. The result, of course, is not highly successful for one would rather read the critical treatises of Ascham, Sidney, or Puttenham than Atkins' fairly lengthy résumés; however, one must notice that these digests are sometimes made illuminating by observations drawn from Atkins' earlier volumes. It seems to me that the author is at his best when he is forced to gather a critic's opinions from a variety of places rather than from a single work; his pages on Jonson are consequently better than those on Webbe. It is unfortunate that Atkins did not follow this method throughout, because it might have resulted in a better and shorter book. One is also surprised by Atkins' faithful avoidance of the many works of scholarship on Renaissance theories of rhetoric and criticism that have appeared during the last fifteen years, but one can assume that the journals and special studies that Americans read are simply not to be had in Wales.

D. C. A.

<sup>2</sup> The reference to this article in another connection (p. 465) gives the date as 1938.

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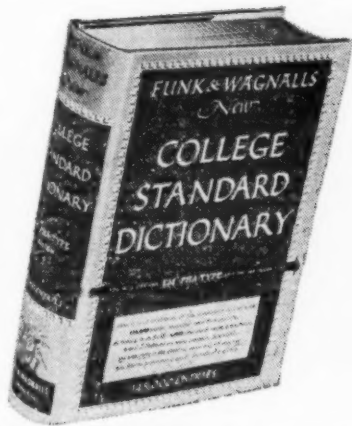
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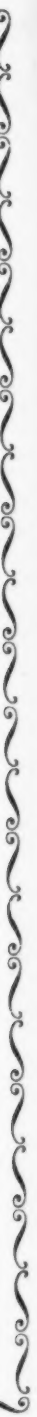
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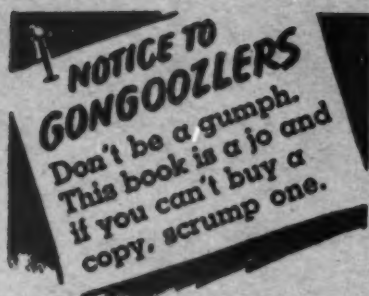
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